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ART. I. *Travels in China, containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-min-yuen, and on a subsequent Journey through the Country from Pekin to Canton; in which it is attempted to appreciate the Rank that this extraordinary Empire may be considered to hold in the Scale of Civilized Nations.* By John Barrow, Esq. late private Secretary to the Earl of Macartney, and one of his Suite as Ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China. Illustrated with several Engravings. 4to. London, Cadell & Davies. 1804. pp. 632.

THIS book appears to us to be the most candid and judicious, though not perhaps the most learned or elaborate account of the Chinese nation that has yet been laid before the public. It is the result, indeed, of the same expedition of which Sir George Staunton has already favoured the world with a copious and intelligent account, and cannot be supposed therefore to contain much novelty in point of fact or direct information. But it is of no little consequence, in the case of a country so very remote and inaccessible, to have it in our power to compare the remarks and impressions of two independent and enlightened observers; and it seems to have been the object of Mr. Barrow rather to systematise and appreciate the facts of which we were previously in possession, than to add materially to their number by a narrative of the occurrences of which he was himself a spectator. From the title-page, which is copied at the head of this article, it is sufficiently apparent, that Mr. Barrow's book is rather to be considered as a moral and political estimate of the Chinese character, than an account of his travels or adventures in their territory; that he conceives the store of facts which has been already collected, to be nearly sufficient to settle our opinions upon those subjects; and that he proposes, now that the public curiosity has been gratified by

an ample narrative of all that has been observed in the country, to point out the conclusions to which these observations should conduct us, and to solve the problems, and reconcile the paradoxes that have been maintained on the subject of this extraordinary people. With this view, he has allowed such a period to elapse as might serve to wear off the impressions of surprise, admiration or disappointment, which the novelty of the spectacle was so likely to produce, and has not ventured to lay his speculations before the public, till they were sufficiently matured by reflection and inquiry.

Laudable, however, as all this caution and preparation on Mr. Barrow's part unquestionably is, we entertain considerable doubts whether it be possible, even with their assistance, to execute the task he has undertaken in a decisive or satisfactory manner. It is still too soon, we suspect, to form any just estimate of the Chinese. Till we can travel among them without guards, retinue and attendance; till we can speak their language, and read their books; and, finally, till we can domesticate ourselves with a variety of individuals in different conditions of life, it does not seem likely that we shall ever attain any true notion of their character and genius, or be able to appreciate the place which they ought to occupy in the great scale of nations. When it is considered what partial and contradictory representations are daily made by travellers, of the national character and general condition even of those countries which lye in their immediate neighbourhood, and with how many deductions and allowances we must receive the accounts which are given by intelligent individuals, of societies that are accessible to all the world, it will be unnecessary to assign any particular reason for the distrust and suspicion with which we are inclined to review any report of the moral and intellectual condition of the Chinese. We seldom see foreign nations either fully or fairly; and scarcely ever consider what we do see without prejudice or partiality: novelty is sure either to magnify or diminish the objects with which it is associated, and the spectator of strange manners is almost irresistibly tempted either to despise them for differing from his own, or to admire them as something incomparably superior. It is scarcely possible to ascertain the amount of this refraction, or to rectify our first observations in any other way than by repeating them frequently, and by comparing our own conclusions with those of others upon whom the same causes of illusion have operated in an opposite direction. In the case of such a country as China, however, neither of these correctives can be conveniently applied; and all the accounts which we receive must be tinctured with

prejudices which the traveller has no opportunity to remove. In this state of things, it appears to us that we have more need of facts than of reasoning and speculation to guide us in our opinion of this celebrated people; and that it will be necessary to lay a broader basis of knowledge and information, before we can erect any solid structure of philosophy. Judicious as many of Mr. Barrow's remarks undoubtedly are, we do not know if they assist us so much in forming a judgment of the Chinese character, as the few original facts that are scattered throughout his performance; and feel assured that we shall receive infinitely more satisfaction from the perusal of that system of Chinese law, of which he gives us reason to expect a translation, than from all the diatribes which philosophers can publish on their present stock of materials.

But though these considerations compel us to receive with diffidence the greater part of Mr. Barrow's general conclusions and positions, and to consider most of the points which he discusses as reserved for the determination of a better informed generation, we have great pleasure in saying, that we think the work, in so far as it goes, very sound, judicious and candid, and that the author appears to have set the example of a sobriety and moderation which has been unaccountably deficient in all former publications on this interesting subject. The merit of the book, however, is rather to be ascribed to the sound good sense and unprejudiced views of the author, than to any extraordinary skill in the arrangement, or diligence in the preparation. The narrative of his adventures in the country is awkwardly interwoven with his general remarks upon the manners of the inhabitants; and almost all his conclusions are founded upon facts that fell under his personal observation, though they are of so general a nature as to require the support of every collateral authority. With whatever suspicion Mr. Barrow may regard the accounts of the late Catholic missionaries, we are persuaded that he would have found in some of the earlier narratives a great number of particulars extremely deserving of his attention. We do not mean to object to the size of Mr. Barrow's book, and are very far from considering it as tedious; but we do not think it quite fair to fill up so large a proportion of it with the repetition of those narratives which are given with sufficient amplitude in the publication of Sir George Staunton, and are somewhat teazed to find a second edition of some very trivial descriptions occupying that space which Mr. Barrow might easily have filled with more valuable matter. In a publication of this kind, there was perhaps no necessity for any narrative at all, and certainly no occasion for a detailed account of the

progress of the embassy, the negociations about obeisances, and the anecdotes about packing furniture and changing lodgings, which are recorded with so much solemnity in the authentic volumes of the minister-plenipotentiary: upon all these important subjects the curiosity of the public was already fully gratified; and Mr. Barrow had nothing to do with the repetition of any statement from which he was not prepared to deduce some new inference.

Before proceeding to any analysis of the publication now before us, it is proper to premise, that Mr. Barrow thinks rather meanly of the Chinese; and that it is the tendency of his book, not only to correct the extravagant exaggerations contained in the writings of the missionaries, and adopted by some of the greatest philosophers of the Continent, but also to lower considerably the more moderate estimate which seems to have been formed of their character by the distinguished persons under whose patronage he himself accomplished this expedition. Upon this point, however, we are so far from quarrelling with Mr. Barrow, that we are disposed to make a pretty large deduction even from the good qualities he is inclined to allow them. From all the credible statements, indeed, that have ever fallen under our observation, and from none more than that contained in this publication, we have always been disposed to consider this celebrated people as a mean and semi-barbarous race, distinguished by fewer virtues or accomplishments than most of their neighbours, and remarkable only for their numbers, and their patience and dexterity in the practice of certain mechanical professions. What else indeed do we know with certainty of the Chinese, but their abject submission to a despotism upheld by the sordid terrors of the lash—a government which sentences a first mandarin to be flogged for having given a second mandarin a stripe too few or too many—but the imprisonment and mutilation of their women—but their infanticide and unnatural vices—but their utter and unconquerable ignorance of all the exacter sciences, and all the branches of natural philosophy—but their total incapacity for the fine arts, and the great imperfection of their knowledge in those that are most necessary—but the stupid formalities which incumber their social intercourse—but the singular imperfection of their language, their cowardice, uncleanliness, and inhumanity? To make amends for all this, indeed, we are told of their pottery, their gardens and canals; and above all, of their vast multitudes, and the unremitting industry by which they are precariously subsisted?—The value of all these things will appear, perhaps, in the course of our analysis of Mr. Barrow's observations.

The first chapter of his book bears the very general title of 'Preliminary Matter,' and contains, besides an eulogium upon the work of Sir George Staunton, a kind of supplement to that ingenious author's vindication of the embassy, and an exposition of the ignorance or unreasonableness of those who have reported its success to have been disproportionate to the cost and preparation. It accomplished, Mr. Barrow assures us, all the objects which were in the view of those who projected it, and was received with more distinction than any other European mission that has lately entered that country. He seems to take particular pleasure in contrasting the respectful treatment which the British ambassador uniformly experienced, with the indignities that seem to have been put upon the legates of the Batavian government, who were deputed in the year 1796 to pay their respects to the Emperor, and who set out with the confident expectation of recommending themselves at court by a scrupulous attention to all those particulars in which they understood the English to have been deficient. Instead of gaining any distinction, however, by their unconditional compliance with all the forms of the court, they were treated throughout with the most insulting rudeness and neglect; they were lodged in a stable, and left without fire, and almost without provisions, for the greater part of their stay: they were compelled to prostrate themselves nine times on the earth at receiving the slightest message or present from the Emperor; and were finally dismissed, without being permitted to open their lips on any kind of business, or so much as to see any of the European missionaries, upon whose influence and advice they had relied for many advantages. Mr. Barrow concludes this chapter with observing, that by the rules of the Chinese court of ceremonies, forty days is the period prescribed for the residence of foreign ambassadors at that court; and that unless extraordinary occasions may sometimes cause it to be lengthened, the rule has been very generally adhered to. In proof of this assertion, he annexes a list of the different European embassies which have been sent to China; and observes that 'the residence of none of them extended to twice the term fixed by the court of ceremonies, and that two of them did not remain the period allowed.' The latter part of this sentence is certainly confirmed by the list referred to; but it gives us rather an unfavourable impression of Mr. Barrow's accuracy, when we find, in contradiction to the former part of it, that out of the eight embassies enumerated, one resided ninety-one days, another one hundred and six, and a third no less than one hundred and fourteen. The fact, we think, is of very little consequence, but the contradiction has an awkward effect. The British embassy continued at Pekin exactly forty-seven days.

The next chapter contains the observations suggested to the author in his voyage from the entrance of the Yellow Sea to the mouth of the Pei-ho river in the neighbourhood of Pekin. In endeavouring to account for the exaggerated representations of the Jesuit missionaries, he is led to observe, that China, though by no means comparable to modern Europe, must yet have appeared to have the advantage, in many particulars, to those who visited it in the course of the sixteenth century. At that time Europe was torn to pieces with religious dissensions, and in China the most complete toleration and tranquillity were found to prevail.

'The horrid massacre of the protestants in Paris had terrified all Europe. China knew nothing of internal commotions, but such as were sometimes occasioned by a partial scarcity of grain. The art of improving vegetables by particular modes of culture, was just beginning to be known in Europe. All China, at that time, was comparatively a garden. When the King of France introduced the luxury of silk stockings, which, about eighteen years afterwards, was adopted by Elizabeth of England, the peasantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in silks from head to foot. At this period, few or none of the little elegancies or conveniencies of life were known in Europe; the ladies' toilet had few essences to gratify the sense of smell, or to beautify, for a time, the complexion; the scissars, needles, pen-knives, and other little appendages, were then unknown; and rude and ill-polished skewers usurped the place of pins. In China, the ladies had their needlework, their paint-boxes, their trinkets of ivory, of silver in filagee, of mother-pearl, and of tortoise-shell. Even the calendar, at this time so defective in Europe that Pope Gregory was urged to the bold undertaking of leaping over, or annihilating, ten days, was found to be, in China, a national concern, and the particular care of government. Decimal arithmetic, a new and useful discovery of the seventeenth century in Europe, was the only system of arithmetic in use in China. In a word, when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow; and the man in office enjoyed his silken matress. One cannot, therefore, be surprised if the impressions made upon these holy men were powerfully felt, or if their descriptions should seem to incline a little towards the marvellous.' p. 29, 30.

There is some truth, unquestionably, in this passage; and we are no way desirous of taking away any apology which it may be thought to afford for the authors of the relations; but the view which it contains is certainly very partial, and gives an advantage to the Chinese in the comparison, to which they are by no means entitled. The contests that accompanied the Reformation, took their rise from a spirit of philosophy and free inquiry which has never yet dawned upon China. The silken

garments of the Chinese peasantry are no more to be received as proofs of their civilization, than the golden ornaments of the natives of Hispaniola, or the fur covering of the savages about Nootka; and, without taking into account the exquisite productions of the poets and artists that adorned the golden days of Leo, we conceive that the toilette of a lady at the court of Francis or Elizabeth probably displayed as great a variety of luxuries as are yet to be found among their descendants. It would be an insult to the age which produced Copernicus, Tycho-Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, to compare it with any æra of Chinese science: and it can scarcely be necessary to suggest, that the missionaries could not reasonably entertain any very profound admiration for the genius of that people who were obliged to employ them in correcting that calendar, on the regulation of which all the talents of the government had been previously expended.

In pursuing his course across the Yellow Sea, Mr. Barrow is struck with the clumsy and inartificial construction of the Chinese vessels with which it is covered in almost every direction; and informs us, that such are the substantial defects of their naval architecture, that when a ship leaves Canton on a voyage to Batavia, "it is considered as an equal chance that she will never return; and when the event proves favourable, a general rejoicing takes place among the friends of those who have escaped. He adds, that ten or twelve thousand persons are reckoned to perish annually by shipwreck from this one port. A Chinese merchant, who, by many years observation, had at length been slowly convinced of the superiority of our vessels, began to construct one on the English model; but he was stopped by the *hoopo* or collector of the customs, and severely fined for presuming to adopt the modes of a barbarous people! With such vessels, and such a capacity for improvement, Mr. Barrow, however, thinks it probable, that the Chinese formerly navigated through all the Indian Ocean, and to the eastern coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. He is moreover of opinion, that the Hottentots are of Chinese original, and affirms that this is *unquestionably* the case with the whole natives of Ceylon.

At the port of Chu-san, Mr. Barrow had the first specimen of the mild and paternal administration of the Chinese government. Pilots were wanted to conduct the vessel of the ambassador from that place to Tien-Sing; and for this purpose a number of soldiers were despatched, who soon thrust into the hall a number of miserable looking wretches, who dropped upon their knees, and in that posture were examined as to their qualifications. The greater proportion of them had never set foot aboard of a vessel in their lives; and, out of the whole number, only two could be

found who had ever made the voyage in question. These persons had quitted the sea for many years, and, being comfortably settled in trade, supplicated, on their knees, that they might not be appointed upon this occasion. It was altogether in vain, however, that they pleaded the ruin their affairs would suffer, and the distress in which their families would be involved. 'Their tears and intreaties only served,' Mr. Barrow assures us, 'to brighten up the countenance of the old governor;' and they were ordered to go aboard in the space of one hour.

At this place, the embassy was surrounded by a vast multitude of the natives, who flocked down in successive crowds to gaze at the strangers all day long.

'The want of curiosity,' says Mr. Barrow, 'which has been supposed to form a part of the Chinese character, was not perceived in this instance; but it was that sort of curiosity, which appeared rather to be incited by the desire of looking narrowly at the persons of those *who were to have the honour of being presented to their Great Emperor*, than for the sake of gratifying the eye or the mind by the acquirement of information or new ideas. The vessel, although so very different from their own, was an object of little notice; and, although eager to get a transient glance at the passengers, their curiosity was satisfied in a moment, and was generally accompanied with some vague exclamation, in which the words *Ta-whang-tee* occurred; and the main drift of which seemed to imply, "Is this person to appear before our Great Emperor?"' p. 60, 61.

In their run from Chu-san to the mouth of the Pei-ho, the vessels were repeatedly endangered by the obstinacy or ignorance of the Chinese pilots. The embassy was then embarked in barges, and proceeded up the river towards Pekin.

'Nothing that could convey the idea of extraordinary wealth or comfort among the inhabitants, or of extraordinary abundance and fertility in the country, (unless in the copious supplies of our provisions), had yet occurred, either at Chu-san or in the first three days sail up the Pei-ho towards the capital. The land on both sides was low and flat, and instead of hedge-rows, trenches were dug to mark the boundaries of property. A small proportion only was under cultivation. The greater part appeared to be sour swampy ground, covered with coarse grass, with rushes, and the common reed. There were few trees, except near the villages, which were of mean appearance, the houses generally consisting of mud walls, one story in height, and thatched with straw or rushes. Here and there a solitary cottage intervened, but nothing that bore any resemblance to the residence of a gentleman, or that could even be called a comfortable farm-house. And although villages were numerous, no assemblage of houses were perceived, that properly could be classed under the name of a town, except that of See-koo, near the mouth of the river, and Ta-koo, a few miles higher, until we proceeded to the distance of about ninety miles, when we entered the suburbs of the large city of Tien-sing, stretching, like Lon-

don on the Thames, for several miles along each bank of the river Peiho. But neither the buildings nor the river would bear any comparison, even with those parts about Radriffe and Wapping. Every thing, in fact, that we had hitherto seen, wore an air of poverty and meanness.' p. 70, 71.

After taking notice of the barbarous practice of compressing and mutilating the feet of the women, and conjecturing that it may have been introduced within the period of a few centuries, Mr. Barrow gives the following disgusting account of the personal economy of this refined people.

'The interior wrappers of the ladies' feet are said to be seldom changed, remaining, sometimes, until they can no longer hold together; a custom that conveys no very favourable idea of Chinese cleanliness. This, indeed, forms no part of their character; on the contrary they are what Swift would call a *frowzy* people. The comfort of clean linen, or frequent change of under garments, is equally unknown to the Sovereign and to the peasant. A sort of thin coarse silk supplies the place of cotton or linen next the skin, among the upper ranks; but the common people wear a coarse kind of open cotton cloth. These vestments are more rarely removed for the purpose of washing than for that of being replaced with new ones; and the consequence of such neglect or economy is, as might naturally be supposed, an abundant increase of those vermin to whose production filthiness is found to be most favourable. The highest officers of state made no hesitation of calling their attendants in public to seek in their necks for those troublesome animals, which, when caught, they very composedly put between their teeth. They carry no pocket handkerchiefs, but generally blow their noses into small square pieces of paper which some of their attendants have ready prepared for the purpose. Many are not so cleanly, but spit about the rooms, or against the walls, like the French, and they wipe their dirty hands in the sleeves of their gowns. They sleep at night in the same clothes they wear by day. Their bodies are as seldom washed as their articles of dress. They never make use of the bath, neither warm nor cold. Notwithstanding the vast number of rivers and canals, with which every part of the country is intersected, I do not remember to have seen a single group of boys bathing. The men, in the hottest day of summer, make use of warm water for washing the hands and face. They are unacquainted with the use of soap.' p. 76, 77.

The third chapter contains the journey to Pekin, and to the palace of Yuen-min-yuen in the neighbourhood, together with a short description of the imperial gardens of Gehol in Tartary. The substance of the details which it includes is to be found in the publication of Sir George Staunton; and though we will not deny that Mr. Barrow's narrative is more concise and judicious, we scarcely can admit those improvements as an apology for so extensive a repetition. The great road to the capital lies across

an open country which appeared to be sandy and ill cultivated; and the few houses on each side were of mean appearance, being commonly built with mud or half-burnt brick, up to the very gates of Pekin. This city is surrounded by a brick wall rather less than thirty feet in height, but extending round a circumference of nearly fourteen English miles. The buildings within are all so low as to be completely hidden by the wall. They are all constructed on the model of a tent, being supported by slight wooden pillars, and concealed by a dead brick wall to the street: their roofs alone appear above this enclosure, and, being arranged in straight lines throughout the whole city, give it very much the appearance of a vast encampment. On entering the gate, and opening the view of one of the wide streets which traverse the whole breadth of the place, a very busy and novel scene presented itself to the eyes of the strangers. Mr. Barrow has given this very lively description of it.

'The multitude of moveable workshops, of tinkers and barbers, cobblers and blacksmiths; the tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables were exposed for sale, with the wares and merchandise arrayed before the doors, had contracted this spacious street to a narrow road in the middle, just wide enough for two of our little vehicles to pass each other. The cavalcade of officers and soldiers that preceded the embassy, the processions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of strange insignia of their rank and station; different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpses to their graves, and, with squalling music, brides to their husbands: the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary, the wheel-barrows and hand-carts stuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle space in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embassy to pass. All was in motion. The sides of the street were filled with an immense concourse of people, buying and selling and bartering their different commodities. The buz and confused noises of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of those who were crying their wares; the wrangling of others, with every now and then a strange twanging noise like the jarring of a cracked Jew's harp, the barber's signal made by his tweezers, the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every group, could scarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotunda, or by the Jews and old women in Rosemary-Lane. Pedlars with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors, comedians and musicians, left no space unoccupied. The Tartar soldiers, with their whips, kept with difficulty a clear passage for the embassy to move slowly forwards; so slow indeed, that although we entered the eastern gate at half past nine, it was near twelve before we arrived at the western.' p. 96, 97.

With the exception of the four great streets which lead to the gates, the rest of the city consists of very narrow lanes, and

every part of it is entirely without pavement, and filled with sand or dust. There are no acqueducts; and the well water is for the most part intolerably nauseous. There are no drains; and the disgusting practice of preserving in every house a collection of all substances that may be used as manure, infects the whole precincts with an abominable odour, from which they are never entirely purified. There are no buildings of any considerable antiquity, and very few that rise above the humble level of the ordinary dwellings. These consist of the rice magazines at the angles of the walls, and a conical temple or two, in the style of those described by Colonel Symes in his account of the embassy to Ava.

At the palace of Yuen-min-yuen, where Mr. Barrow remained while the ambassador proceeded to the imperial residence at Gehol, he was miserably lodged in the apartments of one of the chief courtiers, which seemed fitter for the habitation of hogs than of human beings; and here he had the honour of receiving, among other illustrious visitants, the president and chief members of the tribunal of mathematics. These learned gentlemen could not be made to comprehend either the mechanism or the uses of a superb orrery which was among the presents; and their chief, who was a European, took occasion, in a private interview, to explain the distress to which the heads of the tribunal had lately been subjected. Being entrusted with the construction of the national calendar, and understanding but little of astronomy, they had hitherto availed themselves of the *Connoissances des tems* of Paris, which had been regularly transmitted to them for that purpose from Europe; but the French Revolution having interrupted this intercourse, they found themselves at that moment in a state of deplorable perplexity. One of the gentlemen of the embassy presented them with a set of the London nautical almanacs up to 1800, which they accepted with transport as a most invaluable present.

The grounds of Yuen-min-yuen comprehend a circumference of upwards of ten English miles, and are laid out, so far as Mr. Barrow could judge from the little he was permitted to inspect, in a very good taste, though they fall very far short, he observes, of the fanciful and exaggerated descriptions which Sir William Chambers has given of Chinese gardening. The buildings are all very slight, detached and irregular; and the greater part of those included within the precincts of the palace are mere hovels, or very mean cottages.

'The very dwelling of the Emperor, and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when divested of the gilding and the gaudy colours with which they are daubed, are little superior, and much less solid,

than the barns of a substantial English farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their construction is void of every rule and principle which we are apt to consider as essential to architecture. The principal hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen stood upon a platform of granite, raised about four feet above the level of the court. A row of large wooden columns surrounding the building supported the projecting roof; and a second row within the first, and corresponding with it (the interstices between the columns being filled up with brick-work to the height of about four feet) served for the walls of the room. The upper part of these walls was a kind of lattice-work, covered over with large sheets of oiled paper, and was capable of being thrown entirely open on public occasions. The wooden columns had no capitals, and the only architrave was the horizontal beam that supported the rafters of the roof.' p. 124.

The chapter concludes with a florid description of the park at Gehol, extracted from the journal of Lord Macartney. The scene, according to his Lordship's representation of it, must be truly worthy of admiration; but his Lordship has all the zeal of a dillettante in the art of gardening, and seems to write habitually with a glow and eloquence of description that is very apt to betray the writer unconsciously into exaggeration. He admits with Mr. Barrow, that none of these gardens come up to the fanciful description which Sir William Chambers has obtruded upon us as realities. He admits too, that 'artificial rocks, and ponds with gold and silver fishes, are perhaps too often introduced; and that the monstrous porcelain figures of lions and tygers usually placed before the pavilions are displeasing to an European eye:' and he gives, in the following sentence, a general character of their taste and style of gardening, which we find it very difficult to reconcile with the praises he has bestowed on their actual performances.

'There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening and the Chinese; but our excellence seems to be rather in improving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the same effect. It is indifferent to a Chinese where he makes his garden, whether on a spot favoured, or abandoned, by the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them, or compels them to return. *His point is to change every thing from what he found it, to explode the old fashion of the creation, and introduce novelty in every corner.* If there be a waste, he adorns it with trees; if a dry desert, he waters it with a river, or floats it with a lake. If there be a smooth flat, he varies it with all possible conversions. He undulates the surface, he raises it in hills, scoops it into vallies, and roughens it with rocks. He softens asperities, brings amenity into the wilderness, or animates the tameness of an expanse, by accompanying it with the majesty of a forest. p. 134, 135.

The next chapter is more valuable. It contains a general

sketch of the state of society in China, and of the manners and customs of the people.

The first remarkable feature is the seclusion and neglect of the women; and from this one we may judge of the whole physiognomy. The women, in the higher ranks and in the cities, never appear abroad, and neither eat at the same table, nor sit in the same apartment with the male part of the family at home. Their time is chiefly spent in smoking tobacco, though some of them embroider brilliant silks into monstrous patterns. Every man buys his wife from her parents without seeing her, and may return her if he do not like her appearance, upon paying a certain forfeit: he may also buy as many as he thinks he can maintain, and may sell into slavery as many as he can convict of any infidelity. Women can inherit no property. Among the peasantry and the lower ranks, their tyranny takes another shape. There, all the heavy labour falls upon the women; and they may often be seen with an infant on their back, *dragging* the plough and the harrow, while the husband indolently directs it, or idles away his time in gambling and smoking. With all this domestic rigour, they are entirely destitute of decency or purity. There are multitudes of public women in every town; and every family is familiar with vices still more detestable.

This stupid degradation of one sex precludes all domestic society, and cuts off the sources of family affection. The melancholy solemnity of their manners completes its extirpation.

'A cold and ceremonious conduct must be observed on all occasions between the members of the same family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and respect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furnish the conversation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-side, in our own country, are in China buried in silence. Boys, it is true, sometimes mix together in schools; but the stiff and ceremonious behaviour, which constitutes no inconsiderable part of their education, throws a restraint on all the little playful actions incident to their time of life, and completely subdues all spirit of activity and enterprize. A Chinese youth of the higher class is inanimate, formal, and inactive, constantly endeavouring to assume the gravity of years.' p. 142.

As they have no comfort at home, so they have no society abroad. They have not the remotest idea of meeting together for the sake of conversation or amusement. 'A Chinese, says Mr. Barrow, 'when he has finished his daily employment, retires to his solitary apartment.' The young people have no occasional assemblies for the purpose of dancing or other exercises, nor have they any fixed day for religious ceremonies, nor any public or congregational worship. The jealousy of the government

has given their devotions the same solitary character with all the rest of their existence. They are generally extremely sober; though the higher ranks commonly stupify themselves with opium. On the first day of the new year, and a few succeeding days, indeed, a sort of general holiday is observed, and persons in office give feasts and entertainments.

'But even in those feasts (says Mr. B.) there is nothing that bears the resemblance of conviviality. The guests never partake together of the same service of dishes, but each has frequently his separate table; sometimes two, but never more than four, sit at the same table; and their eyes must constantly be kept upon the master of the feast, to watch all his motions, and to observe every morsel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for a Chinese of good breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the guests must pay attention. If a person invited should from sickness or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is sent in procession to his own house; a custom that strongly points out the very little notion they entertain of the *social* pleasures of the table. It is customary to send after each guest the remains even of his dinner.' p. 155, 156.

In this penury of all rational entertainments, we cannot be surprised to find the Chinese, like other half-civilized nations, addicted to games of chance. They are, in fact, most desperate gamblers, and are often said to stake their wives and children on the hazard of a die. They not only train cocks and quails to fight, as in Europe, but have discovered a warlike species of locust, with whose prowess in single combat they are prodigiously delighted.

The character of the Chinese, Mr. Barrow conjectures to have been originally quiet, passive and timid: but the nature of the government has had the unfortunate effect of rendering them unfeeling and cruel. The degrading punishment of flogging with the bamboo is applied to every individual in the empire, and often with the greatest inhumanity and injustice. We shall quote but two instances from a multitude that might be copied from Mr. Barrow.

'In our return down the *Pei-ho*, the water being considerably shallower than when we first sailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the vessel were busy until sunrise in the midst of the river, using their endeavours to get her off. The rest of the fleet had proceeded; and the patience of the superintending officer at length being exhausted, he *ordered his soldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew*; which was accordingly done in a most unmerciful manner; and this was their only reward for the use of the yacht, their time and labour for two days!' p. 161.

'Of the number of persons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, several had posted themselves upon the high projecting stern of an old vessel, which unfortunately breaking down with the weight, the whole group tumbled with the wreck into the canal, just at the moment when the yachts of the embassy were passing. Although numbers of boats were sailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the assistance of those that were struggling in the water. They even seemed not to know that such an accident had happened, nor could the shrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was observed very busily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our vessel to heave to and send the boat to their assistance.' p. 166-7.

Frequent mention is made of the cruelty shown to the peasants who were put in requisition to carry the baggage; and in the journey of the Dutch embassy, M. Van Braam assures us that eight of them actually expired under their burdens in the course of two nights. On the subject of inhumanity, however, it is sufficient merely to name the detestable practice of Infanticide, which seems to have prevailed from time immemorial in this empire. The Jesuits reckon that there are from two to three thousand infants exposed every year in the streets of Pekin alone, besides those that are drowned in a vessel of warm water at the moment of birth, and those that are thrown into the rivers with a gourd tied round their necks to prolong for a short time the certainty of their torment, and the chance of their deliverance. Those that are thrown into the streets of the capital, are tossed into carts in the morning, and thrown all together, whether dead or alive, into a pit without the walls. The missionaries commonly attend at this horrible tomb, to baptise those that remain alive.

'I was assured by one of the Christian missionaries, with whom I had daily conversation during a residence of five weeks within the walls of the Emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur sauver l'ame*, that such scenes were sometimes exhibited on these occasions as to make the feeling mind shudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and swine are let loose in all the narrow streets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will sometimes necessarily happen to the exposed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.' p. 169.

No instance of inhumanity so atrocious, we believe, is to be found in the manners of any other people.

The spirit of the people appears to be completely broken by the sordid despotism to which they are subjected. They seldom quarrel, and scarcely ever proceed to blows. 'The act of drawing a sword or presenting a pistol,' says Mr. Barrow, 'is

sufficient to frighten a common Chinese into convulsions; and their warriors shew but few symptoms of bravery.' On the other hand, they have all the vices of a mean and abject character, without having to boast of any one rank or order in the community to whom a more elevated or upright disposition is familiar.

'A Chinese merchant will cheat, whenever an opportunity offers him the means, because he is considered to be incapable of acting honestly; a Chinese peasant will steal whenever he can do it without danger of being detected, because the punishment is only the bamboo, to which he is daily liable; and a Chinese prince, or a prime minister, will extort the property of the subject, and apply it to his private use, whenever he thinks he can do it with impunity. The only check upon the rapacity of men in power is the influence of fear, arising from the possibility of detection: the love of honour, the dread of shame, and a sense of justice, seem to be equally unfelt by the majority of men in office.' p. 179, 180.

These details, and the rest which Mr. Barrow has furnished upon the general character and disposition of the people, are extremely interesting, and appear to be stated with the greatest candour; yet we cannot help regretting that he should not have made a little more use of the opportunities he seems to have enjoyed, of exhibiting a living picture of the Chinese taste, genius, and disposition, by a faithful detail of some of their *unofficial* conversations. With the two conductors of the embassy, in particular, he seems to have lived on a footing of considerable intimacy; and there is one private and confidential entertainment which he partook along with them, 'and passed,' as he expresses it, 'a most convivial evening, free from any reserve or restraint,' of which we should have been extremely glad to have contemplated a more extended picture. We should have learned more of their true disposition and manners, and formed a more intimate acquaintance, in short, with the Chinese character, from a short view of that night's conversation, than from all the general descriptions which Mr. Barrow can digest, or all the stanzas and moral maxims he can translate.

The fifth chapter relates to the manners and amusements of the court, and to the personal character of the Emperor. It is filled with a long account of the ceremonies observed at the introduction of the ambassador, already very amply detailed by Sir George Staunton, enlarged by a narrative of the reception of the Dutch embassy in 1796; and concludes with a critique on the state of the Chinese stage, and the other entertainments of that polite people.

From this part of the work we can afford to make but few extracts. The following is Mr. Barrow's account of the accom-

modations of the first officers of State in this most superb of the Asiatic monarchies.

'The stone or clay floors are indeed sometimes covered with a carpet of English broad-cloth, and the walls papered; but they have no glass in the windows, no stoves, fire-places, or fire-grates in the rooms; no sofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glasses; no book-cases, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor sheets to their beds; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raised in an alcove, on which are mats or stuffed matresses, hard pillows or cushions, according to the season of the year; instead of doors they have usually skreens, made of the fibres of bamboo.

'When attending the court, on public occasions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his solitary cell on a small square table crowded with bowls of rice and various stews. Without table-linen or napkins—without knife, fork, or spoon; a pair of small sticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only substitutes for these convenient articles: placing the bowl under his chin, with these he throws the rice into his mouth, and takes up the pieces of meat in his soup or stews. Having finished his lonely meal, he generally lies down to sleep.' p. 194-5.

As the Dutch embassy was treated with much less ceremony than the British, so the members of it had a better opportunity of observing that extraordinary combination of real meanness and barbarity, with an affectation of splendour and refinement, which Mr. Barrow and Lord Macartney have both remarked as the characteristic of the Chinese court. From a manuscript journal of this other embassy, Mr. Barrow has accordingly extracted a variety of passages which tend to place them in a very contemptible light. One great part of the Emperor's amusement, was to be dragged about in a sort of sledge upon the ice by the hands of his great mandarins, who, in their state dresses, were yoked, some before, and some behind the vehicle, and to see the officers of his court tumble in heaps over each other as they approached the place where he was seated, on a kind of clumsy skate. An eclipse of the moon happening on the fourth February,

—'the Emperor and his mandarins were engaged the whole day in devoutly praying the gods that the moon might not be eaten up by the great dragon that was hovering about her. Recovered from their apprehensions, an entertainment was given the following day, at which the ambassadors were required to be present. After a number of juggling tricks and infantine sports, a pantomime, intended to be an exhibition of the battle of the dragon and the moon, was represented before the full court. In this engagement two or three hundred priests, bearing lanterns suspended at the ends of long sticks, performed a variety of evolutions, dancing and capering about, sometimes over the plain, and then over chairs and tables, affording to his Imperial Majesty and to his courtiers the greatest pleasure and satisfaction.' p. 216-17.

Their exhibitions of strength, dexterity, &c. are incomparably inferior to the most ordinary representations of the same sort in Europe; and their drama is the most despicable and inelegant entertainment to which that epithet was ever applied. In one favourite piece, the chief interest depends upon the representation of a woman who has been flayed alive, and who whines about the stage in that elegant dishabille for very nearly half an hour, while a group of dæmons are deliberating on her future destiny. In the course of another tragedy, where a general is represented as setting out on a distant expedition, the spectators are wonderfully pleased to see him get astride upon a long stick, and run two or three times round the stage, till he is supposed to have reached the place of his destination. Their comic representations, Mr. Barrow assures us, are so vulgarly indelicate and filthy, as not to be contemplated without the utmost disgust.

'In short, the greater part of the amusements of the Chinese are, at the present day, of a nature so very puerile, or so gross and vulgar, that the tricks and the puppet-shows which are occasionally exhibited in a common fair of one of the country towns of England, may be considered as comparatively polished, interesting, and rational. In slight-of-hand, in posture-making, rope-dancing, riding, and athletic exercises, they are much inferior to Europeans; but in the variety of their fire-works they, perhaps, may carry the palm against the whole world. In every other respect, the amusements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature, neither suited to the affected gravity of the government, nor to the generally supposed state of civilization among the people.' p. 224-5.

The sixth chapter treats of the Chinese language, literature and arts; upon all of which, if Mr. Barrow has not presented us with any very valuable novelty, he has at least exhibited what is known, in a very clear and masterly manner. His sketch of the *language* is peculiarly neat and luminous, though some of the facts which he confirms to us appear to be most strange and unaccountable.

The written and the spoken language of China, our readers are probably aware, have no sort of connexion or relation to each other. Their visible characters represent things or ideas directly, without any reference to the sounds by which the same things may sometimes be expressed. Nay, they represent many things which the Chinese at least cannot express by sounds at all. It is a real character, in short, which has nothing to do with words, and might have been invented by a race of beings who were destitute of the faculty of speaking. The only novelty which Mr. Barrow has introduced in his account of this extraordinary system, consists in the doubt he has thrown upon the hieroglyphical origin of the Chinese characters. He says that they appear to him to have been from the beginning a set of arbitrary or conventional

marks, and that he has found it impossible to trace the smallest resemblance between any of the radical characters and the visible objects they are employed to represent. Those which have been copied by the Jesuits to illustrate the theory of their graphical origin, he affirms to have been very much distorted from their genuine form; and he exhibits a list of some of the simplest and most elementary characters, which certainly bear no kind of likeness to the objects they denote. Though it would not be difficult, perhaps, to trace the gradual metamorphosis of picture-writing into such a character as the Chinese actually employ, yet we are rather inclined, upon the whole, to adopt Mr. Barrow's view of the subject in this particular case, and to hold, that the written system of this people has not been derived from that origin. We have been led to form this opinion chiefly by three considerations. 1. They have no record nor tradition among them of the use of picture-writing, though their annals make mention of the time when they made use of *quipos* or knotted cords, like the Peruvians, to preserve the memory of events. 2. There is no appearance of hieroglyphical writing on any of their oldest monuments. And, 3. The book called the *Ye-king*, admitted to be by far the most ancient relic in China, and indeed so antiquated as now to be perfectly unintelligible, consists altogether of straight lines, arranged in different parallel groups, and contains nothing in the least degree resembling the delineation of visible objects.

This, however, relates rather to the history, than to the actual condition of the Chinese written character. It is clearly and concisely described in the following passage by Mr. Barrow.

'Certain signs expressing simple objects or ideas may be considered as the roots or primitives of this language. These are few in number, not exceeding two hundred and twelve, one of which, or its abbreviation, will be found to compose a part of every character in the language; and may, therefore, be considered as the *key* to the character into which it enters. The eye soon becomes accustomed to fix upon the particular key, or root, of the most complicated characters, in some of which are not fewer than sixty or seventy distinct lines and points. The right line, the curved line, and a point, are the rudiments of all the characters. These, variously combined with one another, have been extended from time to time, as occasion might require, to nearly eighty thousand different characters.

'To explain the manner in which their dictionaries are arranged, will serve to convey a correct notion of the nature of this extraordinary language. All the two hundred and twelve roots or keys are drawn fair and distinct on the head of the page, beginning with the most simple, or that which contains the fewest number of lines or points, and proceeding to the most complicated; and on the margins of the page are marked the numeral characters one, two, three, &c. which signify, that the

root or *key* at the top will be found to be combined on that page with one, two, three, &c. lines or points. Suppose, for example, a learner should meet with an unknown character, in which he perceives that the simple sign expressing *water* is the *key* or *root*, and that it contains besides this root, *six* additional points and lines. He immediately turns over his dictionary to the place where the character *water* stands on the top of the page, and proceeding with his eye directed to the margin until the numeral character *six* occurs, he will soon perceive the one in question; for all the characters in the language belonging to the *root water*, and composed of *six* other lines and points, will follow successively in this place. The name or sound of the character is placed immediately after it, expressed in such others as are supposed to be most familiar; and, in the method made use of for conveying this information, the Chinese have discovered some faint and very imperfect idea of alphabetic writing, by splitting the monosyllable sound into a dissyllable, and again compressing the dissyllable into a simple sound. One instance will serve to explain this method. Suppose the name of the character under consideration to be *ping*. If no single character be thought sufficiently simple to express the sound *ping*, immediately after it will be placed two well-known characters *pe* and *ing*; but, as every character in the language has a monosyllabic sound, it will readily be concluded, that *pe* and *ing*, when compressed into one syllable, must be pronounced *ping*. After these, the meaning or explanation follows in the clearest and most easy characters that can be employed.' p. 250—252.

The system upon which these characters are compounded, appears to be very ingenious and philosophical; but it is not adhered to, Mr. Barrow assures us, with any tolerable degree of attention in the practice of the Chinese. The metaphorical combinations by which they think fit to express an obvious idea, are frequently so capricious and obscure, as to elude all comprehension; and very frequently a character is adopted, without any consideration of the separate significance of its elements, but purely from the supposed beauty of its form, or the facility of its formation.

Thus, says Mr. Barrow, it may not be difficult to conceive how the union of the *sun* and *moon* should be employed to denote *brilliancy*; but it does not occur so readily why the character for *happiness* should be compounded of the characters signifying a *demon*, the number *one* a *mouth*, and a piece of *cultivated ground*: and it would be still more difficult to explain the principle upon which the character denoting *rank* or order should be represented by that signifying *mouth* three times repeated—or why the same character four times repeated, with the addition of the sign of *greatness*, should denote an *instrument* or piece of mechanism.

In this language, Mr. Barrow assures us, the chief beauty of composition consists, not so much in the novelty or importance of the meaning which is conveyed, as on the choice of the charac-

ters or groups of metaphors which are employed to suggest it. When translated into another language, these metaphors are necessarily dropped; and a passage which delighted the eye of a learned Chinese, from the variety of pleasing and suitable images which the compound characters suggested to him, appears, when the naked meaning is stated in words, to be ridiculously obvious and trifling. This apology for the undeniable futility of all the Chinese compositions that have ever been translated into the European tongues, is certainly very creditable to the ingenuity of those by whom it was suggested; but to us, we will acknowledge it appears by no means satisfactory. In the first place, because, except in poetry or fine writing, a beauty of this kind, even if it were attainable, would be altogether misplaced; and chiefly, because it seems to us perfectly obvious, that if the characters are sufficiently familiar to the reader to enable him to understand them at first sight, he will necessarily overlook and disregard the metaphors or images which they may involve, in the same way as we are unconscious of the figurative origin of almost all the abstract and compounded words which occur in our common conversation. As a specimen of the substance and scope of their most admired compositions, we insert the following translation of a celebrated ode on Tea, composed by one of their most famous poets, and painted upon almost all the tea-pots in the empire. The reader will judge whether any beauty of diction in the original would entitle it to be ranked with the lyrical compositions of Europe.

"On a slow fire set a tripod, whose colour and texture shew its long use; fill it with clear snow water; boil it as long as would be necessary to turn fish white, and crayfish red; throw it upon the delicate leaves of choice tea, in a cup of *yooé* (a particular sort of porcelain) Let it remain as long as the vapour rises in a cloud, and leaves only a thin mist floating on the surface. At your ease, drink this precious liquor, which will chase away the five causes of trouble. We can taste and feel, but not describe, the state of repose produced by a liquor thus prepared." p. 280, 281.

Singular, however, as the structure of the written language of this people must be allowed to be, it does not form by any means so extraordinary an object of consideration as their oral or spoken language. This language consists of no more than 351 indeclinable monosyllables, which, by aspirations, accentuations, and other precarious devices, may be increased by a native Chinese to about 1300. This pitiful number of words constitutes the whole vocabulary of this enlightened empire! and such is the wretched penury of significant sounds, that every one of these monosyllables is computed to have about sixty different significations, insomuch, that their discourses are always full of ambiguity, and they are reduced to the most awkward contrivances to avoid the

equivocations to which they are continually liable. A Chinese, in his common speech, is often obliged to stop, and draw, in the air, the written character of the idea he wishes to express, and very frequently to annex to the ambiguous monosyllable some synonyme that may help to restrict its meaning.

There is no instance, we believe, on the face of the earth, of a language so extremely imperfect and inartificial; and it is difficult to conceive how any race of people could be so stupid, or so destitute of invention, as to leave it in such a state of poverty. They are said to have eighty thousand written characters, made up of different combinations of two hundred elementary signs; and yet, in their common speech, they are contented with about thirteen hundred ambiguous monosyllables, without ever thinking of increasing their number by composition, or by the invention of any new articulation. The structure of their written language shews that they are fully aware of the effects of combination; and yet they have in no one instance introduced a compound word into their spoken language, or ventured to combine two syllables into the symbol of a complex idea. By what particular infatuation they have been withheld from so obvious an improvement—by what bar they have been obstructed from compounding their words as well as their written characters, we are utterly unable to comprehend, and no writer, we think, has attempted to explain. The fact, however, appears to be quite undeniable, that they have gone on for many thousand years *pittering* to each other in a jargon which resembles the chuckling of poultry more than the language of men, and have never yet had the sense to put their monosyllables together into articulate words.

A language of this description excludes, of course, all idea of oratory, and serves in part as an apology for the want of conversation. It explains, too, in a satisfactory manner, the reason why the Chinese have never adopted an alphabetical character. By the use of an alphabet we are enabled merely to write what we can speak; but the Chinese cannot speak one sixtieth part of what they can express in writing already, and would sustain a great loss, therefore, in exchanging their present character for one which should only express the few combinations of sound which compose their spoken language. The causes which lead to the improvement and extension of spoken language, appear to be so universal and certain in their operation, that any remarkable failure in the effect strikes us as something preternatural: the inducements, at least, to form a commodious vehicle for the communication of our sentiments in our ordinary intercourse, are obviously so much stronger, and the difficulties so much less than those which must have occurred in the invention of a written

character, that the barren and rude state of speech among the Chinese must always appear as a most astonishing phenomenon, when contrasted with the copiousness and artifice of their written system.

Of the *sciences* and *arts* of the Chinese, it is unnecessary to say any thing. They have no science, and never seem to have had any; and all the arts they possess seem, though they have been practised for some thousands of years, to be still in their infancy. They know nothing of chemistry, mechanics, astronomy, geography, optics, or any branch of natural philosophy. As to the fine arts, Mr. Barrow assures us, 'that there is not in the whole empire a statue, a hewn pillar, or a column that deserves to be mentioned;' and that with regard to painting, they have not the most distant idea of perspective or keeping; and that the king's draughtsman was utterly unable to make any tolerable representation of a naked human figure. Their architecture is in as miserable a state as their sculpture and painting. All their houses are built in the form of a tent, with a curved roof and wooden pillars. Their temples are constructed almost entirely on the same plan, with two or three roofs, one above another. They have no settled proportion between the length and the diameter of their pillars; and they cover them invariably with a coat of red paint. There does not appear to be a building in the whole empire that has stood 300 years.

Their great wall is a mound of earth, cased on the outside with brick; and remarkable for nothing but its needless length, and the folly of its builders. Their canal is by far their greatest work: our readers will be glad to peruse Mr. Barrow's distinct account of it.

'All the rivers of note in China fall from the high lands of Tartary, which lie to the northward of Thibet, crossing the plains of this empire in their descent to the sea from west to east. The inland navigation, being carried from north to south, cuts these rivers at right angles, the smaller streams of which terminating in it afford a constant supply of water; and the three great rivers, the Eu-ho to the north, the Yellow river towards the middle, and the Yang-tse-kiang to the south, intersecting the canal, carry off the superfluous water to the sea. The former, therefore, are the *feeders*, and the latter the *dischargers*, of the great trunk of the canal. A number of difficulties must have arisen in accommodating the general level of the canal to the several levels of the feeding streams; for notwithstanding all the favourable circumstances of the face of the country, it has been found necessary in many places to cut down to the depth of sixty or seventy feet below the surface; and, in others, to raise mounds of earth upon lakes and swamps and marshy grounds, of such a length and magnitude, that nothing short of the absolute command over multitudes could have accomplished an un-

dertaking whose immensity is only exceeded by the great wall. These gigantic embankments are sometimes carried through lakes of several miles in diameter, between which the water is forced up to a height considerably above that of the lake; and in such situations we sometimes observed this enormous aqueduct gliding along at the rate of three miles an hour. Few parts of it are level: in some places it has little or no current; one day we had it setting to the southward at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour, the next to the northward, and frequently on the same day we found it stationary, and running in opposite directions. This balancing of the level was effected by flood-gates thrown across at certain distances to elevate or depress the height of the water a few inches, as might appear to be necessary; and these stoppages are simply planks sliding in grooves, that are cut into the sides of two stone abutments, which in these places contract the canal to the width of about thirty feet. There is not a lock, nor, except these, a single interruption to a continued navigation of six hundred miles.' p. 336, 337.

The excavation of the bed and the construction of the embankments must certainly have been effected with infinite labour; and labour expended for purposes of great utility is always a magnificent object of contemplation: but to us there appears to be little else at all worthy of admiration in this undertaking. There is no genius, we think, in the design, and little contrivance in the execution. In a flat country, intersected by a multitude of rivers running in one direction it must have been a very obvious suggestion to join two or three of the largest, by dividing the stream of the intermediate ones. Where there is such abundance of water, and a level so well adapted for navigation, the construction of a canal demands no great exertion of ingenuity. It is only necessary to obstruct the direct course of the streams by a bulwark, and to dig a lateral channel. What is called a canal in China, indeed, is but a river running in a new bed. By the contrivance of locks a great part of the labour bestowed in maintaining the level might have been saved; but it appears clearly from Sir George Staunton's remarks, that the Chinese are entirely ignorant of that useful invention.

Medicine, in China, is at as low an ebb as astronomy. They are utterly ignorant of anatomy, and never think of attempting bloodletting, amputation, or any considerable operation. The whole art of the physician consists in the knowledge of certain herbs, and in the faculty of discovering the nature of all diseases by the pulse; the common quackery of all the orientals. Mr. Barrow terminates his observations upon their proficiency in the arts with this remarkable sentence—

'Indeed, in selecting the many valuable presents relating to science, their knowledge and learning had been greatly overrated. They had

little esteem for what they could not comprehend, and specimens of art served only to excite their jealousy, and to wound their pride. Whenever a future embassy shall be sent to Pekin, I should recommend articles of gold, silver, and steel, childrens' toys and trinkets, and perhaps a few specimens of Derbyshire spar, with the finest bload-cloth and kerseymeres, in preference to all others; for, in their present state, they are totally incapable of appreciating any thing great or excellent in the arts and sciences.' p. 343.

After this, we really do not see how he could consistently refuse to subscribe to the sentence passed upon them by Sir William Jones in the following passage:

"Their letters," says he, "if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments from which their origin can be traced, even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved." p. 356.

The next chapter is upon the government and the laws. The first is a pure despotism; and as to the second, Mr. Barrow professes himself to be somewhat unprepared to give any very full information. To make amends, however, he gives us room to hope that the public will soon be favoured with a faithful translation of their latest and best digested code, of which a copy is now in this country. Meanly as we are disposed to think of the Chinese genius in general, we look forward to this publication with feelings of no common curiosity; and earnestly hope that the translator will meet with such encouragement, as may enable him soon to gratify us with this very curious and authentic document. Such a publication, accompanied with a very few explanatory notes, would give us a much more satisfactory idea of the character and situation of the people, than all the volumes which European genius can compose upon the subject.

In the mean time, we learn that all sentences of death must be ratified by a supreme tribunal at Pekin; but that every mandarin may flog all of inferior dignity at discretion; that capital punishments are of rare occurrence; and that treason is punished by forfeiting the lives of all the criminal's descendants to the ninth generation. They do not employ imprisonment or coercive labour as means of reformation; all their punishments which are not capital are included in exile and flagellation. In civil cases, there is no appeal from a lower to a higher jurisdiction; and almost all the officers of justice are open to corruption. Torture is employed to extort confessions; and the governors of provinces are displaced at the pleasure of the Sovereign.

Although they have famines every four or five years, they have few beggars, and no poor laws. The taxes are never altered or increased: they consist chiefly in a land-tax, and imposts on salt and foreign merchandise; and are supposed to amount in all to about sixty-six millions Sterling. The military establishment of the country amounting to nearly two millions of men, with the vessels of war, &c. is supposed to cost about fifty millions annually, and the civil establishments nearly two; so that about fourteen millions are left for the private expences and establishment of the Emperor. The army is chiefly composed of Tartars, who do not seem to be yet naturalised in the country, and assume, even at court, all those imperious airs of superiority which were natural perhaps at the æra of their original conquest.

The next chapter, with some unhappy pretensions to learning, and some endeavours at theory, contains scarcely any satisfactory information. It treats of the origin of the Chinese, and of their religious ceremonies. With regard to the former, we only learn, that in Mr. Barrow's opinion, the Emperor Fo-shee was Noah, and that the Chinese are of a Tartar breed, distinct from the Hindus or Egyptians. With regard to the latter, our information is still more indistinct and imperfect. There is no state religion; and no intelligible account is given of that which prevails among the populace. They worship heaven and earth; and, above all, the shades of their ancestors. Their worship consists chiefly in burning tapers and perfumed matches; and the sole object of their devotion appears to be to penetrate into the futurities of their present mortal existence: their condition in another world seems to occupy no part of their attention. There are implements of divination, however, in all the temples: if the event be favourable, the inquirer leaves a few pieces of copper on the altar —if adverse, he reviles the Deity and his lottery with the most irreverent peevishness.

The ninth chapter contains a greater part of the journey from Pekin to Canton, with Mr. Barrow's remarks on the agriculture and population of the empire.

The first part of the journey gave him but an indifferent opinion of either. The country was sandy and barren; and being no longer crowded with those who had come from a distance to gaze at the strangers on their arrival, 'he was surprised,' he says, 'at the fewness of the inhabitants, as well as at the very ruinous and miserable condition of their cottages.' On the way to Nantchang-foo, the canal was led through wastes of morass and uncultivated bog, extending on both sides of it, beyond the reach of sight, for a course of more than 200 miles. So far from having any idea of draining or cultivating these vast unhealthy deserts,

the Chinese habitually let out the waste water of the canal upon the swamps below; and as this canal is in fact the bed of many rivers, it is not at all improbable that the marshes may have been formed in a great measure by this negligent and absurd practice. In the pools and marshes of this dreary country, a few wretched inhabitants subsist themselves by fishing.

Their agriculture, of which their admirers have spoken in terms of such unmeasured admiration, is almost in as low a state as the rest of their economics. Their plough is of a most wretched construction; and as nine tenths of their cultivators have no cattle to drag it, they could derive no advantage from an improvement in that particular. Almost every spot is laboured with the spade and the hoe.

'As horticulturists,' says Mr. Barrow, 'they may perhaps be allowed a considerable share of merit; but, on the great scale of agriculture, they are certainly not to be mentioned with many European nations. They have no knowledge of the modes of improvement practised in the various breeds of cattle; no instruments for breaking up and preparing waste lands; no system for draining and reclaiming swamps and morasses; though that part of the country over which the grand communication is effected between the two extremities of the empire, abounds with lands of this nature, where population is excessive, and where the multitudes of shipping that pass and repass create a never failing demand for grain and other vegetable products.' p. 567.

The practice of terracing their mountains (which has long prevailed in Switzerland and other hilly countries) seems to be very rarely resorted to in China. 'Upon our route,' says Mr. Barrow, 'it occurred only twice, and then on so small a scale as scarcely to deserve notice.' In their gardens they have no method of forcing by artificial heat or glass covers, and their whole merit consists in working the soil incessantly, and keeping it free from weeds.

'Upon the whole, if I might venture to offer an opinion with respect to the merit of the Chinese as agriculturists, I should not hesitate to say that, let as much ground be given to one of their peasants as he and his family can work with the spade, and he will turn that piece of ground to more advantage, and produce from it more sustenance for the use of man, than any European whatsoever would be able to do; but, let fifty or one hundred acres of the best land in China be given to a farmer, at a mean rent, so far from making out of it the value of three rents, on which our farmers usually calculate, he would scarcely be able to support his family, after paying the expence of labour that would be required to work the farm.' p. 569, 570.

There are no large farms accordingly, and scarcely any cultivation except in the immediate neighbourhood of the villages. Such is the state of police and morality in this vaunted country,

that no one will live on a detached farm for fear of being plundered by robbers, who prowl about in such formidable bands as sometimes to threaten their most populous cities.

With regard to the population of the country, Mr. Barrow has recited the official statement which was delivered at the request of the embassador, and printed in Sir George Staunton's publication. According to this table, the population of the fifteen old provinces amounts to no less than *three hundred and thirty-three millions* of souls. In order to assist the credibility of this statement Mr. Barrow makes a calculation of the number of square miles contained in these districts, and determines, that the preceding sum of population will allow exactly two hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants for every square mile, or very little more than twice as many as are found on the same space in Great Britain. He then reminds us, that in China no horses are kept for pleasure, and but few for labour; and that, in the southern provinces, two crops are always reaped in a year, while the people are satisfied with a very moderate sustenance, and scarcely ever consume any animal food; and concludes with observing, that, so far from having exceeded its natural limits 'the population has not yet arrived at a level with the means which the country affords of subsistence.'

Upon a point of fact, where the evidence is confessedly defective, it is vain to dispute. A square mile of land is certainly capable of maintaining two hundred and fifty-six inhabitants; and it is *possible* that the miles which compose the Chinese empire may be peopled in this proportion; but the probabilities, we think, are all against such a supposition. The immense tracts of waste land that approach the capital, and extend along the great channel of communication to the south—the reports made by the earlier missionaries, of still more extensive desarts in the west—and the admitted fact, of the population being mostly accumulated in towns and villages, for fear of the banditti that infest the open country,—are all circumstances which appear to be irreconcileable with the statement exhibited by this author.

Mr. Barrow, however, appears to us to have committed a more decided and inexcuseable mistake, in representing the actual population of this country as in a state of progressive increase, and as not having yet attained to its natural and salutary limits. The *data* upon which this proposition is founded, are very curious. Father Amiot, he informs us, represents the population of China, as calculated from official documents in 1760, to have been somewhat under two hundred millions; an amount, Mr. Barrow observes, which, according to a moderate calculation in political arithmetic, would yield at least three hundred and thirty-three millions in 1794. We are afraid that the elements of political arithmetic are not very fami-

liar to Mr. Barrow's understanding; otherwise we can scarcely conceive, that he should have overlooked the glaring and indisputable symptoms of a redundant and excessive population which appear in almost every page of his own intelligent observations.—We need only specify three, the existence of which is indisputable, and which were all as remarkable two hundred years ago as they are at this moment. 1. The miserable, starved, and beggarly condition of the great body of the people, evinced by what was observed of their insufficient diet, and the indiscriminating voracity with which they swallowed all the offal and trash which was thrown away by the travellers: 2. The universal practice of infanticide in all parts of the empire: 3. and finally, The regular recurrence of desolating famines every three or four years. That a people in this situation should multiply so rapidly as to add one third to their numbers in the space of thirty-five years, may fairly be quoted as one of the most ignorant and absurd suppositions that has ever been hazarded upon subjects of this nature. It is still worse, we think, when Mr. Barrow talks of this excessive and miserable population as an object of envy and admiration, and holds up, as a grand and instructive spectacle, this crowd of human creatures, degraded in their minds, and enfeebled in their bodies by the unwholesome compression of their numbers. We think the hold of a slave ship almost as magnificent a spectacle as the swarming provinces of China.

It would be curious to investigate the causes which have produced this wretched excess of population; but our limits will not now permit us to enter into such an inquiry. Two circumstances would obviously contribute to the general effect: 1. The established superstition, which leads them to consider every man as miserable who does not leave a son behind him to make offerings to his shade; and, 2. The permission of infanticide, which prevents poverty from acting as a restraint upon marriage, and yet is not always able to silence the voice of nature, which speaks in behalf of the offspring. The children are begotten with the view of murdering them, if their maintenance threatens to be burdensome; and they are spared by compassion, in spite of the miserable burdens they occasion.

There is nothing in the last chapter that we can recommend to the reader's particular attention. It contains the termination of the journey, and the proceedings at Canton. The maintenance and transportation of the embassy in the country is said to have cost the Emperor upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand pounds: the whole expence to our Government, including the presents, did not exceed eighty thousand.

The great merit of Mr. Barrow's book, is the sound good sense

and candour which distinguish most of his observations. He does not write with much accuracy or elegance, and seems more indebted to the natural strength of his understanding, than to any great labour that has been bestowed on its cultivation. The defects of his philosophical education, indeed, are so glaring, that there are few topics at all connected with those prejudices which can only be dispelled by general and comprehensive reasonings, upon which he does not betray a certain degree of illiberality, which accords ill with the acuteness and fairness of his general remarks. Independently of his strange doctrines about population, upon which he seems to set a very high value, we have several incidental remarks on the oppression and absurdity of poor laws, and on the combination of farmers and corn-dealers to raise the prices of grain. We might perhaps refer to the same principle the puerile and misplaced invectives on the atheism and wickedness of revolutionary France, with which he has chosen to enliven his estimate of the Chinese character. With all these blemishes, however, the work is unquestionably very valuable and interesting, and will contribute not a little to the growing reputation of the author.

ART. II. *The Modern History of Hindostan, comprehending that of the Greek Empire of Bactria, and other great Asiatic Kingdoms bordering on its Western Frontier, commencing at the Period of the Death of Alexander, and intended to be brought down to the Close of the Eighteenth Century.* By Thomas Maurice, Author of the Ancient History of Hindostan and Indian Antiquities.—Vol. I. In Two Parts. 508 pp. 4to. 1802.

THE extensive region of Asia, known at present by the Persic name of Hindûstân, presents so wide a field for inquiry, in every department of human knowledge, that we readily expect, in a literary country like Britain, many attempts to illustrate its ancient and modern history. Advantages which no other nation in Europe possesses, render us in a manner responsible to the general commonwealth of letters, for the care which we shall bestow on a subject of such importance. Our conquests and treaties have now subjected to the British sceptre a very considerable part of those celebrated domains which the natives have viewed, from time immemorial, as the scene of the creation of man, and of every improvement, divine or human, which has spread its influence over the face of the earth. Whatever may be thought of the truth of these opinions, their antiquity *seems* to be confirmed by the testimony of ancient foreign writers,—the apparently unchangeable

character of the Hindû religious system, and its resemblance to the tenets of the earliest nations whose history has decended to our own times. If India, in common with other Asiatic countries, aspires to an extravagant antiquity, it must not be forgotten, that the evidence it produces in support of its claims, is far more plausible than that which is advanced by most of its rivals. Its religious doctrines; its mythology and science; its sacred language, nearly forgotten by the very order of men whose interest it is to remember it—necessarily refers us to a period of great antiquity: while its magnificent, but ruined temples, appear to be the work of no superstition more modern than that of Egypt or Assyria.

But, while the wishes of every inquirer are sufficiently excited towards Indian literature, it must still be regretted, that no very important steps have been taken to facilitate the study of it. To say that British industry has been equal at least to that which any other nation would have exerted in the same circumstances, is no compliment to the well-known powers we are acknowledged to possess, when suitable encouragement calls forth their exertion. Many disagreeable obstacles have opposed, and still continue to retard, our progress in Asiatic literature. Leaving out of consideration the peculiar views and qualifications of most of those who go to India, almost every student is subjected to the obvious disadvantage of leaving Europe without any knowledge of the Hindoo languages. If it require a long space of time to become master of Persic, how much more is required to make an ordinary proficiency in Bengalee, Hindostanee, and the other dialects in common use? All these must be acquired in India, as there is no seminary in Britain where they can be tolerably learned. But even these, when attained, are of very little advantage to an Indian antiquary or historian. The Sanscrit, the literary language of that country, the guardian of all its ancient knowledge, has never left the sacred spot, beyond the precincts of which Bramins are forbidden to travel, nor made its appearance in Europe under the form of a grammar and dictionary. The dying hand of Sir William Jones has as yet pointed out in vain to his countrymen the labours of Pánini, and the thirty-two native vocabularies, which are probably destined to remain in the sacred original till some unfortunate individual shall translate them into English, and print them at his own expence, to be rewarded with the thanks of the public, and the ruin of his health and fortune.

Such being the state of Indian literature at this moment, it cannot be thought extraordinary to assert, that materials for a complete and finished history of Hindûstan are not in the possession of any writer in Europe. Whatever may be his taste, his know-

ledge must be limited to the scanty information afforded by European books, compositions in modern Persic, and the few translations from the Sanscrit which have been transmitted from India. It would be less presumptuous for a mere English scholar to undertake to write the history of the Greek or Roman commonwealths, from the scanty abridgements which have been composed for the use of schools, than for the most learned European to write the general history of Hindûstan. Indeed, it must immediately strike every one to whom the comparison is suggested, how much less we know of India than might be collected from the meanest English publications on the subject of Greece and Rome.

The notices of India which may be gathered from the Greek and Latin writers, deserve the name of hints of its existence, rather than materials for its history. The oldest oriental book that mentions it, is that of Esther, written under the Persian empire, from which it probably received a considerable share of the religious and political institutions which have since been moulded into a system by the Boodhists and Bramins. The conquests of Alexander opened India to the Greeks; and the best ancient accounts of it are found in the works of his biographers. A few glimmering lights in the Arabic writers serve to reveal the names of many separate, but powerful states, which flourished in the peninsula, between the first downfal of the Roman empire and the Mahomedan invasion. If the modern history of India be begun at the death of Alexander the Great, the writer will have little else to build upon for the first ten centuries of his undertaking.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, Mr. Maurice has boldly ventured to give us both an ancient and modern history of Hindostan. Had it been possible for any writer on the western side of the Indus to have rendered these works correspondent with their titles, there is scarcely any present which the literary world ought to have received with greater satisfaction. The undertaking implies such profound knowledge in many languages, of which the names only have arrived in Britain, and such an acquaintance with Asiatic manners and science, that we fear it will be a long time indeed before we can hope to see it accomplished. At present we are rather inclined to commiserate, than to complain of the failure of Mr. Maurice's attempt; and to ascribe it, in a great measure, to the infant state of British knowledge concerning the nations he has chosen to illustrate. Our knowledge of Indian history may afford materials perhaps for some ingenious *dissertations;* but is still so imperfect, that *he* only can be said to deserve well of that subject who has collected and translated manuscript records, discovered new facts, or given additional information of

one kind or other in some department of the sciences related to it. Mr. Maurice disclaims all pretensions to a knowledge of Sanscrit literature;—a heavy disqualification in a historian of India, for which the greatest abilities will scarcely compensate. His narratives are all necessarily drawn from the most common sources, and usually presented with little variation in the words of the writers he has consulted. We are led therefore to examine his performance, merely as a piece of composition, and to inquire whether he has arranged the few facts which we possess in an elegant, judicious, and scientific manner. Such an arrangement is surely within the power of a British writer, and can lend a charm to the most meagre productions in point of fact, sufficient to recommend them to a numerous description of readers.

History, written on a classic model, consists of a relation of important actions and events delivered in language suitable to the subject, and interspersed with statements of the causes, as far as they are known, from which they arose; the whole being arranged in a manner calculated to delight the mind, by unity of subject, skilful connexion of parts, and accuracy and depth in the occasional reflections and observations. If this description be erroneous or imperfect, we refer our readers to the sources from which the rules of historical composition have been derived,—to the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy; or the compositions of Voltaire, Robertson, and Hume.

Mr. Maurice begins this work at the death of Alexander the Great, because he had discussed the ancient history of Hindostan in a former production. This volume consists of three books; the first of which contains, in six chapters, the history of India, from the death of Alexander till the commencement of the Mahometan æra; the second continues the details on the same subject in three chapters, from the birth of Mahommed to the death of Timûr Beg. The third book carries on the narrative, nearly to the close of the 13th century, making, in four chapters, the second part of the volume; to both of which parts is affixed a particular preface.

The preface to the first part exhibits the reasons of the author for dating the commencement of the modern history of India at a period so remote as the death of Alexander. They consist altogether in a peculiar notion, that the mythology and legendary history of the Hindoos form by themselves the antient part; and in the fact of his having treated them in a former work under that title. These reasons, however, are plainly unsatisfactory. The modern history of all nations can only begin at the time which Europeans have agreed upon as a general æra for that purpose; and it would be as proper to date the modern history of Egypt

from the reign of Ptolemy I. as of India from the decease of Alexander. The first age of what may properly be called the modern history of Hindóstân is sufficiently memorable in all repects. It begins with the conquest of Sindetic Hindustan, by Mahmud of Ghizni, A. D. 1000.

We do not think, however, that it was at all necessary for the writer of this narrative to apologize for launching out into the affairs of Asia in general, as far at least as these are connected with India, though such a discussion can never be received as a substitute for the paucity of facts which are known in the internal history. Such comprehensive views of collateral nations are well known to belong to history as a matter of right, from which it derives a great portion of the intellectual light that beams like a shrine of glory around the reliques of departed empires.

The first chapter of the work therefore begins very properly with a general view of the empire, and a brief survey of the character and manners of the people of Hindostan. Both of these are executed in a slight and general way, as the author had given them at large in his other performance. He justly rejects the pretensions to extreme antiquity advanced by the Hindoos, and repeats the first accounts of their brachmans, casts, and rich manufactures found in the Greek authors, who wrote after the fall of the Persian empire. He seems to contradict the opinions of several learned men, who think that the Hindoos derived their religion from Egypt; and that 'the hieroglyphical representations of the gods of Egypt can be clearly traced in the monstrous figures and images of deity, that are at present worshipped in the pagodas of India.' He thinks it far more probable, that

—'the Hindoos were always too proud to borrow any thing of the kind from their neighbours; and that the Egyptians have either appropriated to themselves the antient mythological rites and symbols of India, or (which is the author's favourite doctrine) that both have derived them from one primitive source of Cuthite profanation.' p. 4.

In ages of which no genuine history is preserved, there is perhaps no great harm in allowing ingenious men to place whatever imaginary events they find most agreeable to their fancy. Though it is not impossible, nor indeed, considering the communicative nature of superstition, very improbable, that India received a few general ideas on religion and morals from antient Egypt, yet no satisfactory evidence of either of the opinions stated by Mr. Maurice has ever been produced to the world. If he is disposed to believe in the vague similarities and reasonings on these subjects exhibited in his own writings, we may admire his faith, but certainly cannot adopt it. On the topic of primeval Cuthite profanation we are exceedingly distrustful, the more so

perhaps, because we recognize in it a well-known hypothetical principle, fabricated from the genealogy in the 10th chapter of the first book of Moses, and from a few passages in the Greek poets. It is advanced, we believe, in the most extensive manner in Bryant's Antient Mythology; and we have found it in all the books, one or two excepted, which have been written on patriarchal history, for a number of years, on the other side of the Tweed. It is supported by a mass of false etymology from the Hebrew, Coptic, Persic, and sometimes Indian languages, of which the authors often know little more than a few words, and these, especially the Hebrew, in no very accurate shape, having passed through the Hutchinsonian media of Parkhurst and Bates.

Mr. Maurice is not contented with a simple belief in the immediate descent of the Hindoos from the Patriarchs, because their country has been fixed on by the learned for the residence of Noah, Shem, Raamah, &c. after the deluge; but he adds the following most remarkable paragraph:

'Except in the single instance of the pure primeval religion of India, which descended from their patriarchal ancestors, having in some memorable instances degenerated into idolatry, no perceivable vicissitude has taken place among this celebrated people, from the commencement of their empire to the present day. Whatever is true of them at one period is equally true of them at another. The laws of the Medes and Persians were not more unalterable. From age to age, from father to son, through a hundred generations, the same uniformity of manners and cast of character prevail; inexterminable by the sword, incorruptible by the vices, and unalterable by the example of their conquerors.' p. 5.

Whatever may be the other merits of this account, its historical veracity may certainly be disputed, both on the grounds of the well known mutability of all ignorant nations, and of the fact that the Hindoos have no monuments sufficiently ancient to support their fabulous pretensions. If, instead of cutting away a few millions of years from the Hindoo chronology to make it more conformable to the Jewish records, the author had examined the oldest treatise of Hindoo astronomy, or the account recently given of it by Mr. Bentley; or if he had reflected that the superstition of Boodh is ten times more general in Asia than that of the modern Bramins, who are known to have expelled it from India at a late period, and to have *forged* many books to maintain the antiquity of their own sect; he would probably have changed the assertions made in this paragraph into something more consistent with reason and history. In the present scarcity of facts, it is improper to hazard any positive opinion upon such a subject.—But if the Zend, the ancient language of Persia, be radically the same with the Sanscrit, as Sir William Jones has affirmed it to be;

and if the Sanscrit, according to the opinion of that illustrious philologist, be not the aboriginal language of India, but introduced by some invasion from the north-west, why may it not be supposed that the Medes, about the time they rushed down on the Assyrian empire, took entire possession of the Hindoo peninsula, and carried their language and religion along with them? The Hindoo superstition has a great resemblance to the Magian in its fundamental doctrines. The later additions of the Bramins, though neither few nor excellent, may be traced to circumstances in the country hinted at in the Sanscrit books. The sacred language is only an older form of the common language of the country, such as the Arabic of the Korân is of that of Arabia, and the Geez of that used in Abyssinia. Both these were vernacular, one in the days of Mahomet, A. D. 630, and the other in the year 330. The time when the Sanscrit became obsolete is probably not so remote. We do not say that these considerations should lead the historian to adopt any positive opinion on the points assumed by Mr. Maurice; but they might certainly have induced him to suspend his judgment in a matter so liable to be controverted.

We cannot give Mr. Maurice credit for the merit which he claims in 'having shewn the entire consonance between the oldest Indian records, respecting the creation, the deluge, and other important events, and the Mosaic, with this only difference, that the former are clothed in the veil of mythology, while the latter are radiant in the lustre of unadorned truth.' With the greatest veneration for that *truth*, we must positively assert, that any mass of fable may be reconciled with Scripture history by the vague and illogical plan of reasoning which Mr. Maurice has generally used. It is remarkable indeed, that almost every writer who has made the attempt, seems to have bidden for a time a necessary adieu to all fixed principles, and sobriety of judgment. The exalted understanding of Sir Isaac Newton seems to have deserted him on such an occasion; and his chronology is a melancholy proof of the impossibility of reasoning on a series of ages which have descended to oblivion for ever.

In the last ten pages of this chapter, the author runs over, at considerable length, all the principal historical topics on which he is about to expatiate. As the exciting of a reader's curiosity is no contemptible object of a well written history, we consider this as a very injudicious application of the liberty granted to historical writers, of proposing and laying down the plan of their subject, for the sake of method and suitable perspicuity. All the best ancient and modern historians of Europe do this in a few lines, or a short paragraph, with a simple but artful insinuation

of the important actions they are about to celebrate. The Asiatic historians indeed follow a different method, at least in the language of their *exordia;* but surely we may question the propriety of transferring the inflated style of the East into these ungenial regions of ours, after mature consideration of the bad effects it has always had on the simple page of truth. A celebrated Arab historian of Timûr begins his narrative with these words: 'Praise be to God, on the loom of whose will and power are woven the webs of historical events, and from the fountain of whose decree,' to the abyss of whose might, flow the waves of times and ages.' The historical quill of Mr. Maurice vies with the Mahomedan in exhibiting 'the mighty *Pourava*, the Porus of the classics towering above the rival Princes of India, as well in the gigantic stature of his body, as the comprehensive faculties of his mind, with an army numerous as the locusts, issuing from his renowned capital to give unsuccessful battle to his too powerful antagonist.' (p. 7.) This, as far as any single sentence can give an idea of the style of a writer, is a specimen of the style of Mr. Maurice, as displayed in this work. And we leave it, without further observation to the judgement of his readers.

The second chapter relates the separation of the Indian provinces from the Macedonian empire after the death of Alexander. We are favoured with both the Greek and Indian accounts of Sandracottus or Chandra-gupta, who accomplished that dismemberment. Justin and Arrian are authorities in the one case, and Mr. Wilford's translation, in his own words, is copied in the other. The author next proceeds to reconcile the Indian geography of Strabo and Arrian with Sanscreet topography. The expedition of Seleucus against Sandracottus, and their subsequent alliance, are then related; the chapter concluding with an account of the exertions of the Ptolemies to render Egypt the seat of Indian commerce.

On this chapter which is the first specimen of the narrative, the preceding being devoted to the plan of the work, we are obliged to observe, that the author differs from us very materially in his ideas of historical composition. He considers a minute dissertation on any obscure topic relating to the country, *balancing* of authorities, long verbal quotations, and lumping together of opinions, as good historical writing. We can allow nothing to usurp that title but a series of facts, acknowledged as such, arranged in a perspicuous and elegant manner, related by the writer as the fruits of his own discovery, or of a skilful selection from proper and authentic evidence. If authorities must be quoted, we wish to find them at the foot of the page, or briefly mentioned in the text; and if topics occur requiring a dissertation, we look for it

at the end of the volume. A series of sesquipedalian words on the immensity of Indian armies, elephants, pagodas, or cities are a poor compensation for the fatigue and anxiety which we experience, when one authority is presented at variance with another, when a tedious legend is succeeded by a laborious dissertation, or the disordered plunder of some unfortunate antient is tossed at random into the historical heap. Mr. Maurice indeed reduces the writers whom he consults to a state of absolute penury, by extorting the minutest trifles he can discover in their possession. As a proof of our assertion we give the first paragraph of the third chapter entire, that our readers may judge for themselves, of the justice of our observation.

'Sensible of the sterling value of the friendship of Sandracottus, Seleucus appears, during the remainder of their respective lives, diligently to have cultivated, both by his ambassadors, and the mutual interchange of good offices, that pacific disposition which mutual prudence had dictated, and in some degree rendered necessary, to those sovereigns. The conjecture is extremely probable, though I own not absolutely justified, by any thing contained in the few historians of the period, that he continued, at intervals, to receive fresh supplies for his army, of those elephants in which he took so much delight; and that in fact a *tribute*, under the softened name of a present, for the undisturbed possession of the Indian throne was annually transmitted to the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. Nor was it only by presents of a military nature that Sandracottus cultivated the friendship of Seleucus for Phylarchus in Athenæus, reports, that he contributed towards the improvement of the voluptuous pleasure of his seraglio by sending him also certain drugs and roots of a nature tending *ad incendendam libidinem*, for thus Bayer, I conceive, justly translates the words διναμις συνκας; probably *genseng*, or the more celebrated *eringo* root.' * p. 52.

Of the importance of this last fact, and the sedulous manner in which Mr. Maurice states his authorities with regard to it, the reader may form his judgement at leisure.

Chapter III. contains a miscellaneous account of the reign of Seleucus, of Tagara and Pluthana, cities in the Deccan, of the Greek commerce with Asia, and their great mistakes about the Caspian Sea. It concludes with the deaths of Seleucus and Sandracottus, the son of which last, called by the Greeks Allitrochades succeeded his father, after whom, excepting a few suspicious notices from Ferishtah, a modern Persic author, Mr. Maurice has no knowledge of India for a long period. During the dark ages which precede the Mahommedan invasion, he is not however entirely idle. He hovers round the frontier, and collects, in

* Bayer, Hist. Regni Græc. Bact. p. 38; & Athenæus, p. 18.

two industrious chapters, all that can be gleaned from the Greek writers, and from Bayer's history of the Greek sovereigns of Bactria, from Theodotus to Eucratides II., and of the Parthian monarchy from its foundation by Arsaces. Near the end of the fifth chapter, the author relates the fall of the kingdom of Bactria, by the inroads of the Scythians, whom he takes this opportunity of describing; but, in our opinion, with no originality of thought, nor depth of judgement. He draws his information chiefly from Abdulghazi Bahadur's geographical history of the Tatârs, and seems to consider the Tatârs, Calmucs and Mongûls, as three great branches of the same nation. But we are assured by competent authority, that the three Scythian nations of antiquity, the conquerors and founders of so many empires, are the Tatârs, Mongûls and *Mandshours*, each having a language radically distinct from those of its neighbours, and of the second of which the Calmucs are only a subordinate branch. It would have been greatly preferable to the uninteresting fables of Japhet, Yajuj and Majuj, and Irghana Khan, had Mr. Maurice favoured us with a dissertation on those separate tribes, after having studied the three languages above mentioned in the various books which have been composed on the subject. Repulsive as the labour may seem, it could not be very formidable to an expert philologist, who would find in these volumes of words the only authentic monuments that remain of Scythian history. In addition to the indistinct outline which Mr. Maurice draws of these savages, his colouring is often of the most unskilful kind imaginable. He garnishes his descriptions in general with a profusion of epithet and ornament, which cannot conceal the great scarcity of facts under which the narrative labours. This is most remarkable in the latter part of the sixth chapter, in which the embassies of Porus and Pandion to Augustus, the voluntary death of Zarmanochagas at Athens, the voyage of Jambulus, and a few other detached notices, are the only information we receive on the subject of this history, though a rhetorical contrast of the splendours and characters of Musicanus and Phraotes, two Indian kings, is placed in the vacuum in all the pomp of Asiatic diction. Much of this chapter is employed in reconciling the ancient and modern geography of India, and particularly of Ceylon. As the author can make no progress in this department by his own learning, he rests implicitly on the strength of the writers in the Asiatic Researches, or the opinions of Dr. Vincent. It is in this unfortunate chapter that the weakness of European knowledge concerning India appears in the most humiliating form. It is here, likewise, that the judgment of Mr. Maurice, in undertaking to write on a subject on

which he had no information, stands most heavily impeached before the public. This chapter contains the *modern* history of Hindostan, from the century preceding the birth of our Saviour till the Mahommedan æra, A. D. 622; a period of 700 years, in which the author has scarcely been able to relate *seven* insulated facts in the annals of that nation, the name of which appears on his title-page.

This chapter concludes the first book. The first chapter of the second is entirely occupied with an enumeration of the eastern authors 'principally cited in this book, with some account of themselves and their respective works subjoined.' These are Abulfeda, Mirkhond, Al Makin, Ebn Abdollatif, Ulug Beg, Abulpharaj, Abulghazi Bahadur, Ebn Haukal, Al Edrisi, Sherifeddin and Arabshah. De la Croix's History of Gengis Khan, les Relations Anciennes of Renaudot, and Marco Polo's Travels, &c. give supplemental assistance. Mr. Maurice presents his readers with the histories of these authors and their writings in the body of the work; a new proof of the scantiness of materials, and of his laxity of judgement, in reckoning the history of the books which treat of a country a part of the history of that country itself. Future historians of Hindostan would on this principle be obliged to insert in their works an account of the life and writings of the author of the Indian Antiquities. The author however of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire would not have admitted into his text a single section of Fabricius's Bibliotheca, whatever might have been the obligations he lay under to the writers mentioned in that useful compilation.

The second chapter of the second book begins with a long account of Mahommed and the Arabs, proceeds with their conquest of Persia, and the fall of Yezdegérd, till they crossed the Oxus and subdued Mawaralnàhr. This country is then described geographically, and a concise history given of the Taherian, Soffarian, and Sammanian dynasties of kings, who reigned in it before the sultans of Gazna. Before commencing the history of the invasion of India by Mahmûd Ghizni, which took place A. D. 1000, the author inserts in his text a verbal translation of Renaudot's Relations Anciennes, or an account of the interior regions of India, by certain Mahommedan travellers, in the ninth century. This he follows up with an extract on the same subject, from the Golden Meadows of Masoudi, an Arabic MS. of the tenth century, supplied by M. de Guignes. These accounts, in the absolute want of native history, are unquestionably very valuable; but it is contrary to all the laws of taste to place them the body of the work. They represent India at that period as

divided into many states, The kingdoms of Nehrwalla, Canouge, Rahmi, Haraz and Tafek, are probably only the names of a few of the most considerable Hindoo principalities. The title of Balhara, or king of kings, assumed by the rajah of Nehrwalla, is no proof that he was acknowledged as their superior by all the kings in the peninsula; nor is it probable that all Hindostan was ever subject to one prince, before the Mahommedan invasion.

Mr. Maurice pursues his route, along with Mahmud of Gazna, through seas of blood, and over mountains of slain. The invasions of this conqueror were made in the spirit of the Korân and its first disciples, into a country rich beyond description, and entirely exposed to destruction. Our historian describes these successive inroads in his usual manner; that is, with great inequality of style, sometimes inflated, and at other times insufferably mean. He undertakes, in this place, to give the geography of Multan, Tatta, Lahore, Gaur, and other districts conquered by the Mahometans. Instead of doing this in a clear and appropriate manner, he loads the description with many extraneous and undignified circumstances, more resembling a statistical account than an historical sketch. In short, he copies the Ayeen Akbery, word for word. Of one of these districts he gives us, among other things, the following information—

'In Tattah are various fine fruits, and the mangoes are remarkably good. A small kind of melon grows wild. Here are also a great variety of flowers; and their camels are much esteemed.' p. 249.

In describing the hideous sack of Tannasar, in a moment of horror, when he has exhausted all his powers of description, he falls into the following indecorous sentence—

'With respect to the great idol *Jug Soom* himself, in proportion to his preeminence he was treated with superior contempt and indignity; and, that not the smallest remnant of his venerated image might exist in Hindostan, to excite anew the flame of idolatrous devotion, he was sent captive to Gazna, where, after being publicly decapitated, his mutilated limbs were scattered through the streets and highways of that populous city, and trampled under the feet of devout Mussulmen.' p. 260.

This chapter, which contains, besides these accounts, a very unseasonable dissertation on the site of Palibothra, and the Calingæ, Gangaridæ, &c. with a story about the poet Firdausi, ends with the death and character of Mahmud, A. D. 1030. Towards the end of the chapter, we have a specimen of the manner in which the historian of Hindustan delineates characters. He sums up that of Mahmud in these words:—

'Thus great, thus mean; thus formidable, thus contemptible; thus benevolent, thus cruel, was the potent Mahmud; whose empire ex-

tended from the shores of the Caspian to the mouths of the Indus, and from the Tigris to the Ganges.'

The last sentence declares the intention of the author

—' to detect and expose the sordid baseness of avarice; to ensanguined ambition to hold up the genuine mirror. This,' he asserts, 'is the duty of a historian at all times, but more particularly of an historian of India; the *debateable ground*, if I may so term it, of ravaged Asia—the ACELDAMA of the earth.' p 304.

The second part presents the reader with the only portion of Indian history in this volume which can justly be called modern. The first and second chapters give a detail of the reigns of the Gaznivide sultans, till the subversion of their throne by Mahommed of Gaur. The rise of the slave Cotbeddîn, under the reign of Mahommed, and the extinction of the Gauride dynasty, follow it. The third chapter begins with the taking of Samarcand, by Gengis Khan, and proceeds with his dreadful invasions of India. Mr. Maurice with great *naiveté*, contests his right of describing this hero with the author of 'the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire.'

'It will not fail to be observed, 'says he, 'that in one part of this work Mr. Gibbon and myself tread nearly the same ground; but it will also be remembered that the ground in question is properly *mine*, and that Mr. Gibbon digested when his eloquent pen pourtrayed the martial character and heroic feats of the great Gengis Khan.'

He then explains his reasons for this assertion, and adds,

—' However, the field is immense; and though we meet we do not clash. Both our orbits are rather eccentric, but the grand object of inquiry is never forgotten.' Pref. p. iii.

The rest of the third chapter contains the transactions of the family of Chuttub, or rather Cotbeddîn, on the throne of Delhi, till its extinction by the Afghan dynasty of the tribe of Chilligi. The last chapter of the book and volume details the history of the Afghan emperors to Mahmud II., whose throne was overturned by Timûr, in the fourteenth century. In the whole of the second part the materials are much more plentiful than in the first; yet, though it is actually the most interesting portion of the work, Mr. Maurice has seldom taken any pains to improve the meagre details of his Asiatic chronicles, or reduce by order, regularity, and purity of language, his collections, to the form of European history.

Having entered so fully into the examination of this performance in the preceding pages, it seems scarcely necessary to make any general estimate of its merits. The 'History of Modern Hindostan' is evidently the work of a well-meaning, virtuous man, who would do every thing in his power to support the cause of truth and morality; but who, in the path he has chosen can

never be of any considerable service to either. He seems to be very deficient in the taste and judgment requisite in an historical writer. For a historian of India he is totally unqualified, both on account of the peculiar difficulties of the subject, and his ignorance of the Asiatic languages. If this sentence appear unjust and severe, we must refer our readers to the history itself, and need not fear the unbiassed result of their judgments. When Mr. Maurice undertook this work, he ought to have seriously reflected, that he was not seated at his desk to write a history of ancient Greece, or of any other country, of which he had all the information before him, in a series of well printed volumes; but that of a distant region of the world, the history of which was either lost, or locked up in obscure and nearly forgotten languages, which if he did not study, he could never attain the object of his wishes. The task which he has proposed to himself is not to be executed by a feeble hand; nor can it be thought inglorious to have failed in making the attempt. For before any writer shall favour the literary republic with a history of India worthy of its thanks and approbation, he must explore every scrap of information, in every language which Asia possesses, from the deserts of Tartary, the country of Gengis and Timûr, to the promontories of Malabar and Malacca. He must learn to forswear quotation, and must deliver his opinions in his own name and authority. To these qualifications he must add the taste and philosophy of a Hume or a Robertson. We do not at present discern any of the signs of such an historian; but, in the mean time, it is the business of the learned to collect MSS., form grammars and dictionaries, write dissertations, publish historical researches and records; and *wait* patiently for his appearance.

ART. III. *Observations on Dr. Sturges's Pamphlet respecting Non-Residence of the Clergy.* In a Letter from T. B. Howell, Esq. to Mr. Baron Maseres. Second Edition. London. Hatchard. 1803.

Reports of Residence, Residentiary Lectures, and other Matters in the Diocese of London, for the year 1804. By George Somers Clarke D. D. Vicar (constantly residing in the Vicarage) of Great Waltham in Essex, Curate of Black Chapel in the same Parish, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Chelmsford printed. Hurst, London, 1804.

THE practical question of enforcing the residence of the clergy upon their benefices, seems to resolve itself into two

branches: 1*st*, What is just to the individuals who compose the present body of clergy? And, 2*d*, Supposing their claims to be satisfied, what is in itself most expedient? In the discussions which have taken place upon the subject, the first question seems generally to have been overlooked. Residence has been assumed to be a moral duty; and the justice of accumulating new penalties upon those who neglect it, has been inferred with still more precipitation. Though residence may be a moral duty, the neglect of it can scarcely be considered as a crime; and though it may be proper to promote it by every sort of encouragement, we apprehend that it would be both unjust and inexpedient to enforce it by the terror of punishment.

Morality undoubtedly requires that every man should do as much good as is in his power, and that he should place himself in that situation in which he can most benefit society. Yet he would be an hardy politician who would institute a court of inquiry for the purpose of enforcing, by direct penalties, this strict and virtuous principle. In another world, indeed, we are taught to believe that rewards and punishments will be distributed by infallible wisdom, according to a strict computation of our merits or offences: but reward enters not into the code of human jurisprudence; and we hope never to see that day when we shall be forced to account, before an earthly tribunal, for not being quite so wise, so charitable, or so useful, as it was in our power to have been.

But let us illustrate the case in question by a parallel one; we mean, a more frequent residence on their estates by gentlemen of landed property. If the actual residence of the owners of the tithes be so important, what might not be expected, if the owners of the land were resident? We recommend it to those who have been so long in the habit of legislating for the clergy, to deliberate upon a bill of pains and penalties for obliging country gentlemen to live upon their estates. They cannot doubt the beneficial tendency of such an enactment: the improvement of their lands, the improvement of their tenantry in morals, in comfort, and in industry, would be its natural result. We suggest it to them, however, without fear of their being tempted, in their own case, to violate the liberty of individuals; we doubt not but they would consider such a bill to be, in the highest degree, impolitic and unjust.

It will be said that the cases of the landholder and of the clergyman are not similar; that the one occupies his estate on a free and unrestricted tenure: that the other holds his benefice on a conditional one,—on the performance of certain duties which are attached to it. We admit that there is a material difference

between them, and shall consider it in its proper place. But, as far as the mere question of tenure is considered, the distinction is not great. The landholder has conditions to perform as well as the owner of the tithe. Of the leaseholder and copyholder, various peculiar compliances are required. The freeholder, too, holds his property upon conditions, on the submission to certain laws, the payment of certain taxes, and, indeed, on the personal execution, if required, of certain offices: conditions, the neglect of which may be punished in some cases by distraint, in others by confiscation. Every individual in the kingdom holds his property on conditions: and the legislature has a speculative right, limited, no doubt, in its exertion by policy and justice, to alter, or to increase them. That right extends to impose conditions upon lay property, as well as upon ecclesiastical; and expediency and justice are as much to be considered by them in the one case as in the other. The clergy, it is said, are an order of men instituted and provided for by the public, for the sake of the public good. So are land-owners. Property itself is such an institution: and if personal residence upon such or such property be expedient, the legislature has as much natural right to annex it as an obligation to one sort of property as to another.

It is possible, therefore, that, though parochial residence be generally beneficial, yet to enforce it by a bill of pains and penalties *may be* impolitic and unjust. That it would be so to enforce the residence of land-owners, is immediately perceived: and there is no natural difference between the two sorts of lay and of church property, which implies a restriction upon the one, which should not be extended to the other. The conditions of lay tenures may usually be executed by deputy; and in the nature of ecclesiastical property there is no original distinction in consequence of which the same liberty may not be indulged to the proprietors. If personal service can be required of this class of persons, more justly than of other land owners, it cannot be from the particular nature of their property, but from some particular convention being ingrafted into the tenure on which they hold it; and this convention, even if it exist, ought not to be authenticated or continued, unless the public welfare demand its continuation.

It will be said, however, that such a convention has been made; that personal residence is the conditional tenure on which the clergy hold their benefices; and that, if the existing laws are insufficient to enforce the fulfilment of their engagements, new penalties may be justly levied for the purpose of compelling them. We are called upon, therefore, in the first place, to examine the fact—whether personal residence be, in reality,

a condition on which ecclesiastical property is held. A late act of Parliament has indeed, greatly altered the terms which were before attached to property of that description; but, as the great body of the English beneficed clergy were possessed of their livings before the date of this statute, we must consider them as fairly bound only by the conditions annexed to their benefices at the time they took them; and that if, by an *ex post facto* law, they are fettered with new restrictions, it is a grievance which ought to be redressed.

When a man becomes possessed of property, he cannot justly be required by the laws to perform more conditions than the law has annexed to such property, or than he has voluntarily promised to observe. When so promised or undertaken, the law, indeed, may justly be employed to enforce the fulfilment of his voluntary contract; but where it has annexed a specific penalty to its violation, his obligation in fact becomes alternative, and he is bound either to submit to that penalty, or to do that, for the neglect of which it is exacted. Where the omission is not in itself of a criminal nature, this seems to be the limit of his responsibility; and if the terms of it have been considered as finally settled for a period of several centuries, there must be an additional hardship in any attempt to aggravate them.

The legal obligation then to residence, is secured by the legal penalty. That penalty, by the statute of Henry VIII. is 10*l.* per month for non-residence; and we are inclined to think, that if there be no obligation to residence beyond that which is contained in this statute, it is in the highest degree oppressive and unjust to inflict severer penalties than this, upon men who have entered into life, and chosen their profession on the faith of the existing laws. The moral duty of residence is not here the question. Avarice is to the full as immoral as non-residence can be: yet it would be highly unfair to lay a partial tax upon the miser by a per centage on his heap. It may be very immoral for a clergyman to draw a revenue of 700 or 800*l.* *per annum* from a country parish, and without ever thinking of his parishioners, to spend it idly in London, at Tunbridge, or at Bath. If, however, he was instituted to his benefice, under the sole restriction of a law which exposed him to a penalty of 120*l.* *per annum* for non-residence, it is equally unjust, by a new law, to extort from him a penalty of 500 or 600*l.* as it would be to seize half or two thirds of the miser's capital for the benefit of his country. That constitution may possibly be a bad one, which permits such an alienation of ecclesiastical stipend from the fair purposes of an ecclesiastical establishment, and it may require to be altered or amended; but to preserve the public faith, is a greater object than

to check partial abuses; and no general arrangements should be permitted to bear hard upon an individual.

This, however, is not all. This penal statute had almost slept for ages. In its original meaning it was equally severe with the laws against the Papists not long ago abolished, and, like them, would have been considered as obsolete, and abolished also, but for peculiar circumstances attending it. A fine of 10l. per month in the reign of Henry VIII. was more than ten times the value of most benefices: its severity therefore was preposterous; and it would have been long forgotten, had it not been occasionally, but very rarely resorted to, in particular and flagrant instances; sometimes by parishioners, who thought themselves aggrieved, and sometimes for the gratification of personal enmity. Viewed in this light by those who knew of its existence, the abuses of it, which had taken place, were in themselves so rare, its good effects in some few instances so presumable, and, perhaps, the check which it afforded upon an oppressive and negligent minister so expedient, that, modified as its severity was by the change in the value of money, it may have been regarded with indulgence, if not with favour.

Of late, this statute has been noticed by the tribe of informers, as affording a fit opportunity for the exercise of their calling, and has, consequently, been made the instrument of much and indiscriminate oppression. Many persons have suffered from it, who knew not of its existence, or knew not that they were exposed to its operation: many who, though conscious of some informality, which exposed them to its effect, yet presumed that the actual and conscientious performance of their real duties, as it exempted them from censure, would exempt them from punishment, though they were not actually resident in the cottage, or the shed, which which was called a parsonage. Instances, indeed, of peculiar and affecting cruelty were every where to be seen, occasioned by the unexpected revival of penalties that were virtually obsolete, and hardships which called aloud for remedy.

The most obvious and natural mode of proceeding in an attempt to remedy the abuses of a law, is either to abolish the law itself, or so to modify it, as to prevent the opportunity of abuse. If the existence of occasional prosecutions upon the statute of Henry VIII. usually by parties interested in promoting residence, had been productive of public good, as probably may have been the case, and the abuse complained of was the sudden advantage taken of it by informers, for the purposes of promiscuous and systematic prosecutions, the natural remedy was to shut out informers from the capacity of prosecuting, and, in other respects, to leave the parties in the same situation which they were in before.

It may be observed, however, that the statute of Henry VIII. was radically absurd, and entirely unequal in its operation: that it imposes the same fine upon non-residence on a large benifice, and on a small one,—a sum comparatively trifling, when compared with the revenues of the one,—while it amounts to nearly double the clear income of half the livings in the kingdom: that non-residence on a valuable benefice is thus made punishable only by a tax, which it may very easily sustain, while on a small one it is in the power of any person to render it impracticable. All this is unquestionably true: and it is not denied that the fine for non-residence on small preferments ought to be reduced: but the importance of this reduction would be much lessened, if the power of prosecuting were confined to the persons interested in residence. From such we know from experience that they would rarely flow, except in flagrant cases: the adoption of such a plan, at least, would not be exposing any description of the clergy to a new injustice: and we cannot help considering it a *new injustice*, to permit the revival of an unjust law, which was generally understood to be obsolete.

The obligation to residence by the common law arises from the statute of Henry VIII. The original intention of that statute is of no consequence. The clergy, who are become possessed of benefices under its restriction, have nothing to say to the views of Henry in enacting it. They have submitted, indeed, to its penalties; but they ought not equitably to be considered as having submitted to other penalties, than those to which, at the period of choosing their profession, the act was understood efficiently to extend. Now, its efficiency in practice was confined to occasional, but very rare prosecutions in peculiar instances; and those persons who knew that its powers extended farther, believed the exercise of those powers to be almost as unlikely, as those of the statutes against witchcraft or forestalling. So far as it has hitherto been usually acted upon, so far, and no farther, we contend that it might have justly been permitted to operate in future. We contend, therefore, not only that to increase the penalties of that act upon any description of non-resident clergy is partial and oppressive, but that the legislature was bound to relieve them from the operation of the existing law, so far as common practice had induced a belief of its being antiquated: and this it was bound to do, we conceive, not as a measure of indulgence, but as an act of justice.

It will be said, that though the obligation of the common law extends no farther than to a fine of 10*l.* per month, yet that residence is prescribed by the canon law. Let the canon law take care of itself. Its injunctions in many points are obsolete, and,

Heaven be praised, not likely to be revived. The obligations which it imposes can only be commensurate to its powers.

But the clergy make a specific promise of residence at the time that they are instituted to their livings; and that promise they do not perform. The existing laws are insufficient to compel them to its performance; and therefore a new law may justly be enacted for that purpose. Its object is not to impose new restrictions, but to compel the execution of old engagements, which arise, though not from the injunctions of the law, yet from the particular contract which has been entered into at institution. Undoubtedly, if such a contract be made, it is just that its execution should be enforced: but let us examine into its existence and its nature.

English benefices are chiefly divided into rectories and vicarages. Rectories are the most numerous, and usually the richest. With regard to these, *no promise whatever of residence is made at institution.* On admission to vicarages, indeed, previously to the act 43d Geo. III. cap. 84, an oath of residence was administered to the clerk, with the exception, '*unless dispensed with by the bishop.*' This is the only promise on the subject, which is, in any instance, required of a clergyman. The promise made by vicars cannot, in any degree, affect the rectors; and thus we have more than half the clergy, and by far the most opulent part of them, at once set quite free from any promise of residence, from any engagement more precise or determinate than the law. Vicars, wherever the bishop calls upon them to reside in consequence of their oath, are, doubtless, bound to its observance; and if the bishop be deficient in power to compel that observance, we do not object to the *justice* of strengthening his authority. Liberality, indeed, would rather suggest perhaps, that, since the severer discipline, to which one part of the clergy is subject, cannot be extended to their brethren without injustice, it ought to be relaxed even where justice might tolerate its exaction. The inequality between members of the same order would thus be lessened; and the unreasonableness avoided, of subjecting to stricter observances those persons to whom that profession is the least lucrative. Such, very properly, seems to have been the sentiment of parliament in the late act, by which this oath is abolished, and vicars placed precisely upon the same footing with rectors, as to the article of residence.

But, however this peculiar obligation may be considered, it is only indirectly the object of the law. It is directly cognizable by the bishop. Where he claims of a vicar the fulfilment of his oath, and meets with a refusal, it may be just to arm him with sufficient power for enforcing the demand. We cannot indeed

believe, that the obligations of an oath are lightly considered by the English clergy, or that such refusals can be so frequent as to constitute an adequate cause of legislative interference; but, at all events, the general question of residence, and the justice of compelling it, is not materially varied by this exception. Rectors are not influenced by it at all; nor yet the great majority of non-resident vicars, whose residence is dispensed with by the diocesan, either virtually or directly.

It has been objected indeed farther, that, at admission to their benefices, the clergy take upon them the cure of the souls of their parishioners; that this cure *implies* personal residence, without which it cannot be properly exerted; and that, therefore, as the cure is a condition of tenure, the residence which it implies must be a condition also.

Now, the cure of souls is undoubtedly a condition of ecclesiastical tenure; and we are not disposed to think lightly of the responsibility which it conveys. We believe also, that the pastoral cure will, in general, be best executed by that shepherd to whom the flock is most immediately committed. That residence, where circumstances permit it, is a moral duty, we neither deny nor doubt. No bread is more dishonourably eaten, than that of him who enters into the sacred order merely for the sake of its emoluments; who takes upon himself the high charge of contributing, so far as may be in his power, to the promotion of virtue and of religion, and thinks that he can fairly transfer to another the duties of this holy character, while he revels himself in idleness or in vice. But the morality of the thing, we must again repeat, is not the question; and laws cannot justly be made to punish a class of individuals for a breach of contract, unless the contract which they are supposed to have violated, be violated, not according to the nice and delicate standard of a scrupulous conscience, but according to the broad and obvious maxims which are followed in interpreting a penal statute.

What then does the law consider as a sufficient discharge of this important trust? Surely we may infer from its authorizing and protecting the establishment of *curates*, who are merely deputies in their trust, that it cannot consistently be regarded as reprobating the system of deputation. It cannot justly say first to the incumbent—'If you do not reside, you shall keep a sufficient curate:' and say again, on receiving his assent to this condition—'No, that will not do; your duties cannot be properly executed by deputy; you must reside yourself.'

It has been said also, that the beneficed clergyman is richer than the curate; and that the original intent of assigning to him his revenues being that he might use hospitality, this end, whatever

may be the case as to the cure of souls, is not answered by the substitution of a poorer person in his room. To this we reply, that the original intent is in no degree the question, but only the present object and obligation of the law. When provisions were first settled on the clergy for this purpose, the kingdom was in an unsettled and semi-barbarous state. No regular inns or accommodations existed for travellers or for pilgrims; and their reception came therefore to be considered as, in a great degree, the province of the clergy. Since pilgrimages have ceased, and the increase of security and civilization has produced a more eligible system of accommodation for the use of travellers, the mode of payment, and the mode of appropriation of clerical revenues has been changed also. To require of the clergy of the nineteenth century the hospitality of the eighth, would be to annihilate their parlours and their libraries, and to degrade their intelligence and manners. It would leave them, indeed, a spacious hearth, and a chimney similar to those of our ancient halls! Their yards would be well stored with wheat; their slaughter-houses with oxen; and their cellars might overflow with ale. Their parsonages, like the Spanish monasteries, by a happy consummation, might then become the resort of innumerable vagabonds, and the nest of incorrigible beggars; but the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants of our isle, would still drive, we believe, to the George, or to the Thistle.

It is expedient, doubtless, that the income drawn by clergymen from country parishes, should be expended by them in the country. They are usually men of education and of intelligence, and, in the present general dereliction of their estates by gentlemen of landed property, the expenditure of the income of a moderate living in a country parish, by a moral and judicious resident, may be of peculiar benefit. This, with other considerations, may have its weight in the future regulation of the clerical order. The residence of a rich rector is likely to be more useful than that of a poor curate. But if the non-resident on his own living perform elsewhere, as is usually the case, the duties of the clerical office (and perhaps the curate whom he employs is in a similar predicament), who sees not that, by a reciprocity of this description, the convenience of individuals is consulted; and that, though the clergyman's income be not expended precisely on the spot from which it is drawn, yet that it is expended elsewhere in a similar manner to what would have been practised there, varying in the individuals to whom it is paid, but, as a national object, not varying at all either in the mode or the extent of its application?

We have stated what we think to be due of right to the exist-

believe, that the obligations of an oath are lightly considered by the English clergy, or that such refusals can be so frequent as to constitute an adequate cause of legislative interference; but, at all events, the general question of residence, and the justice of compelling it, is not materially varied by this exception. Rectors are not influenced by it at all; nor yet the great majority of non-resident vicars, whose residence is dispensed with by the diocesan, either virtually or directly.

It has been objected indeed farther, that, at admission to their benefices, the clergy take upon them the cure of the souls of their parishioners; that this cure *implies* personal residence, without which it cannot be properly exerted; and that, therefore, as the cure is a condition of tenure, the residence which it implies must be a condition also.

Now, the cure of souls is undoubtedly a condition of ecclesiastical tenure; and we are not disposed to think lightly of the responsibility which it conveys. We believe also, that the pastoral cure will, in general, be best executed by that shepherd to whom the flock is most immediately committed. That residence, where circumstances permit it, is a moral duty, we neither deny nor doubt. No bread is more dishonourably eaten, than that of him who enters into the sacred order merely for the sake of its emoluments; who takes upon himself the high charge of contributing, so far as may be in his power, to the promotion of virtue and of religion, and thinks that he can fairly transfer to another the duties of this holy character, while he revels himself in idleness or in vice. But the morality of the thing, we must again repeat, is not the question; and laws cannot justly be made to punish a class of individuals for a breach of contract, unless the contract which they are supposed to have violated, be violated, not according to the nice and delicate standard of a scrupulous conscience, but according to the broad and obvious maxims which are followed in interpreting a penal statute.

What then does the law consider as a sufficient discharge of this important trust? Surely we may infer from its authorizing and protecting the establishment of *curates*, who are merely deputies in their trust, that it cannot consistently be regarded as reprobating the system of deputation. It cannot justly say first to the incumbent—'If you do not reside, you shall keep a sufficient curate:' and say again, on receiving his assent to this condition—'No, that will not do; your duties cannot be properly executed by deputy; you must reside yourself.'

It has been said also, that the beneficed clergyman is richer than the curate; and that the original intent of assigning to him his revenues being that he might use hospitality, this end, whatever

may be the case as to the cure of souls, is not answered by the substitution of a poorer person in his room. To this we reply, that the original intent is in no degree the question, but only the present object and obligation of the law. When provisions were first settled on the clergy for this purpose, the kingdom was in an unsettled and semi-barbarous state. No regular inns or accommodations existed for travellers or for pilgrims; and their reception came therefore to be considered as, in a great degree, the province of the clergy. Since pilgrimages have ceased, and the increase of security and civilization has produced a more eligible system of accommodation for the use of travellers, the mode of payment, and the mode of appropriation of clerical revenues has been changed also. To require of the clergy of the nineteenth century the hospitality of the eighth, would be to annihilate their parlours and their libraries, and to degrade their intelligence and manners. It would leave them, indeed, a spacious hearth, and a chimney similar to those of our ancient halls! Their yards would be well stored with wheat; their slaughter-houses with oxen; and their cellars might overflow with ale. Their parsonages, like the Spanish monasteries, by a happy consummation, might then become the resort of innumerable vagabonds, and the nest of incorrigible beggars; but the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants of our isle, would still drive, we believe, to the George, or to the Thistle.

It is expedient, doubtless, that the income drawn by clergymen from country parishes, should be expended by them in the country. They are usually men of education and of intelligence, and, in the present general dereliction of their estates by gentlemen of landed property, the expenditure of the income of a moderate living in a country parish, by a moral and judicious resident, may be of peculiar benefit. This, with other considerations, may have its weight in the future regulation of the clerical order. The residence of a rich rector is likely to be more useful than that of a poor curate. But if the non-resident on his own living perform elsewhere, as is usually the case, the duties of the clerical office (and perhaps the curate whom he employs is in a similar predicament), who sees not that, by a reciprocity of this description, the convenience of individuals is consulted; and that, though the clergyman's income be not expended precisely on the spot from which it is drawn, yet that it is expended elsewhere in a similar manner to what would have been practised there, varying in the individuals to whom it is paid, but, as a national object, not varying at all either in the mode or the extent of its application?

We have stated what we think to be due of right to the exist-

ing body of the clergy. We shall now inquire, what conduct, those rights being preserved, it is politically expedient to pursue towards the order? It is plain that the two questions are entirely distinct. The church revenues are assigned by the legislature to the clergy for the performance of certain duties; and though men, who have adopted a profession, and become possessed of property under the existing laws, cannot justly be subjected to new obligations, yet such obligations may still, with sufficient justice, be imposed upon all persons who may hereafter enter into the same profession, with a knowledge of its increased restrictions; so that, provided all the rights and interests of individuals, and the privileges of its present members be preserved, there is no restriction in legislating for the order, but that of political expediency.

Now, the revival of the statute of Henry is, we think, not only unjust for the present, but impolitic for the future. It has been seen that its pressure is extremely unequal. Its penalty amounts to only the eighth or the tenth part of some livings: it is twice the value of half the benefices in the kingdom. If a statute of penalties must be enacted, it seems but fair that the greater proportional fine should be levied upon the benefice of greater value.—But, before we speak of the means of enforcing residence, let us examine the possibility. Half the benefices in the kingdom are under £60. *per annum*, many under £20. What law can require a man upon such an income to provide even the necessaries of life for himself and family, and to maintain in any degree the appearance of a gentleman? What equitable law would drive such a man from a curacy, much superior perhaps in value to his living, or from a situation which, from habit or from circumstances, may be favourable to that rigid economy which is necessary to his subsistence? The cure of his living, meanwhile, may probably be administered, at the salary of half its income, by the rector, or the vicar, or the curate of an adjoining parish of equally trifling value, who, while he thus helps to improve the scanty revenue of his neighbour, derives equal benefit to his own. Such, we believe, is very generally the state of non-residence on livings of inconsiderable value; and if it be not without its inconveniences, yet we see not how it can be ameliorated, unless the incomes of the inferior clergy be first increased.

If, in these circumstances, to compel residence would be inexpedient, the unrestricted revival of the statute of Henry VIII. must be given up. On very large livings, its revival might not prove compulsory; but the license which it would give here, is as objectionable as its undiscriminating severity in other instances. There are few clergymen who would not rather reside, than submit to the regular defalcation of £120. *per annum* to be paid to common informers. If any persons, however, should be willing,

rather than reside, to subject themselves to this penalty, they are those whose benefices are the most lucrative; and surely, if non-residence is in any degree to be optional, it should be least so with those persons who derive the largest revenues from the church. In those livings, the profits of which may be considered as moderate, and as being fairly adequate to the proper support of an ecclesiastic, the penalty inflicted by this statue may in effect be considered equally compulsory as it is respecting smaller benefices. No clergyman of from 200 to 500*l. per annum* can afford to give up so large a proportion of his income; and, if this statute be revived, he *must* reside: he would else sink a step or two in the gradation of society and his order; and this no man is willing to do, in any alternative whatever.

In considering the claims of the present body of the clergy, we have not attempted to deny the immorality of non-residence: we have even argued as if it were likely to be practised to a general and flagrant extent. We have so argued from the conviction that if, even on that supposition, compulsory statutes concerning residence be unjust, they must be much more so wherever non-residence is morally excusable or justifiable. For the real state of the fact, we refer to the common situation of the English clergy. The great portion of benefices is in the patronage of the crown, of the bishops, of ecclesiastical dignitaries and corporations, and of opulent individuals. The candidates for these prizes are usually men, who from an early age have devoted themselves to the church as a profession, have entered it as curates, and risen to preferment by various interests and merits. As curates, they probably have resided in their native counties. Their lives are not particularly active; and habit strengthens in them, far more than in men who have been thrown into more varied situations, that predilection for their own home and neighbourhood, which is natural to all. Marriage, too, or attachments which have marriage for their object, add new links to the chain which binds them; and occupied in this mode of life, and with these feelings, they are presented to their benefices. *Where* the benefice may be situated is a matter of chance. A man who expects provision from the crown, is equally likely to be preferred in Devonshire or in Cumberland. The private patron of a Warwickshire divine may possess advowsons in Lincolnshire or in Kent. Such being the case, loth to shake off those social attachments, and local partialities, which have bound themselves fast round him, he retains his former curacy in his native county, and provides, in return, for the due care of his living by a regular and legally authorised substitute. Such is but a fair picture of English non-residence. The absolute dereliction of the clerical office

is comparatively rare. When a man is not resident on his own living, he is commonly curate to another. We do not dispute, that, where other considerations are equal, it is better that a clergyman should execute the duties of his own parish, than that he should entrust them to another. He is connected with his parishioners by a more permanent interest; and from the natural effect of human motives, is more likely to exert himself in promoting their various interests, than a man whose connexion with them is only temporary or precarious. Residence, therefore, we think, ought certainly to be encouraged by promoting the building or the maintenance of residence-houses, and by every indirect inducement which can be held out by public or private patronage. Farther than this it might possibly be injudicious to advance. The public would actually lose more by that violent eradication of the most amiable and useful feelings which bind a man to his native soil, than they could gain by the substitution of a resident incumbent in the place of a resident curate. The inducements to residence are already extremely powerful. There is a natural charm annexed to property of every kind, which generally prompts men to attach themselves to it even at a manifest inconvenience. The superior consequence, too, which a man enjoys within the sphere and influence of his property, is always a strong tie to residence upon it; and, with regard to the clergy, whose receipts, in case of non-residence, are almost always greatly inadequate to the real value of their tythes, pecuniary motives to such residence are far from being wanting.

Such being the case, we suspect that there is no want of direct obligations to personal residence. Indirect encouragements may fairly and usefully be given. But, where these are not sufficient, we are inclined to think, that the partial evil which might result from harassing and disturbing the individual, might be more than enough to counterbalance the public good which his residence might produce.

It may be right to enact new regulations for the better care of parochial benefices. In very small livings, we do not indeed see how this can be effected; but, on large and competent ones, something may de done. Where the living is sufficient to make such a restriction just, it may be made a condition of non residence to the incumbent, that, in the case of his own absence, a resident curate should be maintained. If it should be thought necessary to guard against the abuses which sometimes, though but rarely occur, it might be added, as a farther restriction, that a man who did not execute clerical offices in his own parish, should still be obliged to execute them elsewhere. He might be permitted to be non-resident, though not permitted to be idle. With

regard to the rest, let adequate houses of residence be provided, and the miserable pittance, which is the portion of the inferior clergy, be increased by a consolidation of small livings; an object which, perhaps, might easily be accomplished by gradual operation; and then the clergy will reside in sufficient numbers, without the compulsion of penalties.

We are sorry to observe, that the opinion of the legislature has been very different. By the act which was passed last year, prosecutions, by information, of non-residents are still permitted; but the fine is varied proportionally to the value of the living. Absence of the incumbent for three months, at one or several times during the same year, is permitted without his incurring any penalty. Where his absence exceeds three months, and is less than six, the fine to which the absentee is liable, is one third of the clear income of his living: absence for more than six months, and not exceeding eight, one half: for more than eight months, two thirds: for the whole year, three fourths of such annual income. A power of proceeding summarily is vested in the bishops, who, if their *monitions* to residence are neglected, have the right, after a certain period, of declaring the benefice to be absolutely void, and of calling upon the patron to present another clerk. Numerous exceptions, however, are made, of offices or employments, which exempt the beneficed clergy who exercise them, from the necessity of residence. Numerous other cases are particularized, in which a power of granting licenses for non-residence, to be in force for two years from the time of their being granted, is assigned to the diocesan. A right of appeal to the archbishop is also given, if, in case of a refusal, the applicant shall think himself aggrieved. As some instances, too, may naturally be supposed likely to occur, which may convey an equitable excuse for non-residence, but may be so delicately or particularly circumstanced, that they cannot be specified or provided for by written laws, an additional clause grants power to the bishop, in any case whatever, which shall seem worthy to him of such special interference, to give an extraordinary license for non-residence; and with the reserve, that the license thus granted shall be countersigned by the archbishop, and approved by the Privy-Council.

By this bill of unusual complexity, the penalties on non-resident incumbents of valuable benefices are increased in a very heavy degree. Our opinion of the justice of this measure may be collected from our former observations. The penalties are reduced to the non-residents on smaller livings, but are still so heavy, as absolutely to compel residence in all instances, except those where the parties may be exempted from them by the ex-

press stipulation of the act, or the license of the bishop. A measure is little likely to be expedient, into which so much complication must enter, to make it in any degree compatible with justice. In a bill relating to non-residence, a specific line must certainly be drawn, to distinguish precisely what time or degree of absence from a benefice is, in the eye of the law, to be deemed non-residence. This line, by the late act, is fixed at three months; a period, *communibus annis*, perhaps fully adequate to the reasonable occasions which may induce a clergyman's absence from his parish. But cases, however, may be suggested, in which a man whose usual absence from his benefice does not exceed half the time thus permitted, may reasonably wish that his liberty had been less confined. Business or literature may summon him to the metropolis: family connexions, or the call of friendship, may urge him to visit a distant county. Business frequently cannot be interrupted; and the heavy expences of travelling ought not to be accumulated. If the bill must be compulsory, its object, we are to suppose, is to compel a *bona fide* residence, and to leave to individuals the utmost liberty that is consistent with the attainment of the object. This, we believe, would have been as well accomplished, if six months absence had been permitted, instead of three. The clergy are not so opulent, that they can afford to keep up a permanent establishment distinct from their parochial residences: they cannot systematically avail themselves, upon their moderate or scanty incomes, of the liberty which would thus be allowed them. Where they must reside one half of the year, in consequence of the residence bill, their circumstances would oblige them to reside the other; and if six months absence, instead of three months, had been permitted, we think that the permission would in general only have been acted upon, in instances which the liberal advocates for residence would have thought worthy of dispensation.

Restrictions, too, are laid on farming; from an apprehension, we presume, lest the sacerdotal character should be degraded, a compliment of a singular nature to the noblemen and opulent landholders of our age, who have distinguished themselves by their patronage of agriculture! But the elevated rank and ample fortunes of these liberal agriculturists secure them from the mean and sordid manners of those who are merely farmers. And do the clergy deserve the imputation of being sunk below their level, by an illiberal attention to similar objects? Individuals among them may be rustic, or may be sordid: as a body, no assertion can be more groundless: and those among them who may pay too exclusive an attention to the plough, will not be likely to improve in their manners, or to benefit their country

by more useful avocations, if they are restricted from engrafting this simple and not illiberal employment on the immediate duties of their office. But the clergy, who exercise the sacred function, are not the only persons who are subjected to these restrictions. For certain actions, which relate to the detail of agriculture, the penalties of the statute of Henry VIII. are authenticated and revived, touching all persons, whether curates or without cure, whether beneficed or not beneficed, who have once experienced the mystic die of ordination. The character of the order may certainly be, in some degree, affected by the conduct of all its members, supernumeraries, or in actual service; but we need only refer to the strange opinions not long ago avowed in an honourable assembly, on the subject of sacerdotal indelibility, to be convinced that it has been greatly influenced by the same singular persuasion, in its later deliberations upon other claims, and extinction of other franchises belonging to the same body.*

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* The supposed indelibility of the sacred character, which seems to have had so much influence of late upon the fortunes of the English clergy, is entirely a relic of Popish superstition. It is rather hard, that an imposition, practised upon the public by the priests of the dark ages, for the purpose of acquiring power which was inconsistent with just liberty, should be visited upon the clergy of the present age by a deprivation of their natural and constitutional rights. A paper singularly adapted to illustrate the Popish complexion of the doctrine of indelibility, appeared in the public prints soon after the act was passed excluding the English clergy from a seat in Parliament. The paper which we allude to purported to be a reply from one of the French ex-bishops to the letter of the Pope, which enjoined a compliance with the *Concordatum*. The conjuncture was singular. It will be remembered, that at the time when a British Parliament was voting the indelibility of the clergy, the Pope, at the instance of Buonaparte, had requested the ex-bishops to resign all claims upon their late dioceses, and, with those claims, of course, the duties and responsibility of the office by which they were entitled to them. The above-mentioned answer to this modest request assured his holiness, that the writer, who had fallen on evil times, and was sufficiently wearied with the toils of life, had long ceased to be charmed with ecclesiastical dignity, or to be influenced by worldly cares: That no expectation of a return of the old *regime*, no value which he affixed to the vain consciousness of rights, which he expected not ever to resume, prevented him from paying an instant and implicit obedience to the signification of the pontiff's will: That his conscience, however, would not permit him to make that voluntary resignation of his claims, which otherwise he would gladly offer: That

We must not omit mentioning, that by an act of Henry VIII. of a date subsequent to that which we have already mentioned, all persons who actually resided in the Universities, for the purposes of study, under the age of forty, were exempted from the penalties of the first. This age by the new bill is limited to thirty. If any thing could increase our surprise at so gratuitous an attack on literature and science, it would be, that the mover of the bill should have been member for the University of Oxford.

It may possibly be said, that though the residence-act, without modification or exception, might be very unequal and unjust, yet that the ill consequences which might result from it in such cases as have been enumerated may be obviated by the bishop's power to grant dispensation. There is indeed a partial remedy provided for some of the inequalities of the bill; but a remedy clogged with numerous difficulties in most of the cases which have been above enumerated. Where the case is so specific as to have been pointed out by the act as one in which the bishop may grant a simple license, the measure is comparatively easy; but, in very many instances, such license cannot be valid without farther process. It must first be submitted to the archbishop, and countersigned by him; a measure which the bishops themselves will not, in general, be forward to countenance. It must afterwards be laid before the Privy Council. A succession of formidable gradations, which will almost universally prevent the applications which it seems to sanction. Even though this remedy were more accessible, and however ready the bishops might be to facilitate those steps which depend on them, we are not partial to the dispensing system. To enact harsh laws, and then to make provision for alleviating the oppression they may produce, is not like the legislation of an enlightened age. We do not at all question the respectability of the

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he could not forget the indelible character which had been impressed by the hands which stamped him with episcopacy; and that the gift of the Holy Ghost was only to be rendered up with life: That the bond thus entered into was entirely indissoluble, none, he added, could doubt, who duly considered the nature of the sacrament of ordination; and that even in the church of that country in which he resided, heretical as it was, and completely estranged from the apostolic father of true believers, yet that from the last degree of impiety it was still free, the renunciation of clerical indelibility; and that this important and fundamental article of faith had, in a recent instance, been solemnly recognized by the English Legislature. So far the French bishop of 1802, if we may trust the authenticity of the performance which we quote; but it appeared in so malicious a *contretems*, that we can hardly believe it to be genuine.

Reverend Bench, nor would we willingly convey the slightest insinuation to their prejudice. We believe the power that is assigned them not to be of their own seeking, and that they are disposed to use it with impartiality and discretion. But we are not fond of discretionary powers. If a man have an equitable title to assert any thing as a right, he ought not to be obliged to ask it as a favour. If the health of an incumbent require his removal to Harrowgate or to Bath; if he be an assistant master in a school at London or in York, and the Legislature judge that to be a sufficient plea for his non-residence upon a living in Lancashire, he ought not to be compelled to solicit the consent of his diocesan. He should be made free, and have an original title conferred upon him to vindicate his freedom. If the parsonage be unfit for him to live in, he ought not to be obliged to ask leave to take up his residence in another house. If the glebe be not large enough for the proper supply and convenience of his household, he should have a *right* to rent a few acres in addition. It has been said that the clergy should be subject to their bishop, as the officers of an army are subject to their general. They ought not: unless there be the same necessity for subjection. Military analogies can never be applied, with justice, to the offices of civil life. According to the system of the residence act, it is necessary that a dispensing power should be lodged somewhere; and it could be lodged nowhere with so much propriety as with the ecclesiastical superior; but this necessity shows rather the harsh principle of the bill, than the propriety of the dispensation.

In this discussion of the residence question, it has been our object to shew the general grounds on which it would have been right and politic to act, rather than to enter into an apologetical detail of particular hardships, or an appeal to humanity in favour of the suffering clergy. To these points, the pamphlet of Dr. Sturges, which we formerly noticed with approbation, is principally directed; and we need not be long detained either with Mr. Howell's observations, or the reports and observations of Dr. Clarke. The first is affected, ignorant, and superficial; the other we do not understand. The author seems to have intended the greater part of it to be very witty, eloquent and ironical; but it appears to us to be as pitifully dull as any thing that has lately fallen under our observation. The reports are addressed, evidently without permission, to the Bishop of London; and the work seems intended, in the sequel, to gratify personal malignity, under the pretence of zeal for clerical regularity. We are inclined to hope, that the reception of this first number will be such as to protect us from the appearance of a second.

ART. IV. *De la Generation des Connoissances Humaines.* Par J. M. Degerando, Professeur de Philosophie Morale de l'Institut National, &c. 8vo. pp. 304. A Berlin, 1803.

THE question regarding the origin of ideas is, when properly viewed, one of the most interesting in the philosophy of the mind. It arose indeed from a hypothesis, now completely overturned; but this circumstance is by no means decisive of its fate; nor is it to be dismissed as frivolous or useless, because originally connected with an illegitimate philosophy. It is not a speculation of mere curiosity; it forms a necessary part of the science of mind; for it is surely one of the objects of that science, to connect the conceptions by which our faculties are exercised with those intellectual operations to which we are indebted for their existence. It forms a problem, too, that cannot be resolved without a good deal of application, and leads to a view of the connexions and dependencies of our various faculties, which might not be otherwise very easily obtained.

This question has, since the publication of Locke's Essay, been frequently discussed. The writings of Condillac made it a favourite theme of speculation upon the Continent: and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin having been pleased to propose it as the subject of a prize essay, we are indebted to that circumstance for the performance now under our consideration. The question, as proposed by this learned body, is extremely formidable. 'Démontrer, d'une manière incontestable, l'origine de toutes nos connoissances; soit en présentant des argumens non employés encore, soit en présentant des argumens déjà employés; mais en les présentant, d'une maniere nouvelle, et d'une force victorieuse de toute objection.' The Professor, however, was not at all intimidated; for he tells us, that having only got notice of the proposed competition seventeen days before the period when the essays were to be produced, he nevertheless arranged and composed his book within that short space. In spite of this disadvantage he was successful in the competition, and gained a second victory over all his philosophical antagonists, having, on a former occasion, obtained the prize of the National Institute for a very able work upon the 'Influence of Words on the Formation of Ideas.' We shall endeavour to present our readers with a general view of the work before us, and to indicate the leading features of the author's system, without troubling them with an irksome analysis of its subordinate parts.

The book is divided into two parts.

'The first,' says M. Degerando, 'contains a review of the various systems which have hitherto appeared regarding the origin of ideas.

The second is dedicated to the explanation of a new system, which comprehends the truths, whilst it corrects the errors and supplies the defects of those which have been already proposed.

'The first exhibits an accurate analysis of what others have done: the second is an attempt to execute what they have failed to perform.

'The first establishes the principle, "that all our ideas are founded on experience," as well by strengthening the arguments of those who maintain, as by refuting the objections of those who deny that principle. In the second part, this principle is explained in all its results, and the manner of its application fully developed.' p. 5, 6.

The author employs some preliminary chapters to point out the uses of the inquiry, to establish the principles upon which it ought to be conducted, and to explain the meaning of some important but ambiguous words which necessarily enter into the discussion. This is all very judicious; but we cannot say the same of his historical review, which does not compensate its unnecessary intrusion by any profundity of remark or novelty of illustration. Among the ancients, he observes, that Pythagoras and Plato adopted the doctrine of innate ideas, and that Hippocrates, Aristotle and Zeno asserted, on the contrary, that *sensation* furnishes the materials of all knowledge; a principle which has been commonly expressed in the celebrated maxim, *nihil est in intellectu quin prius fuerit in sensu.* These ancients, however, allowed this principle to remain extremely inactive in their respective systems; and it was not till the time of Hobbes that philosophers began to perceive 'its full value and extensive application.' After him, it was more fully developed in the writings of Gassendi, Locke, Condillac, and Bonnet; by all of whom it has been variously modified, and differently applied. The hypothesis of innate ideas, on the other hand, assumed a new aspect in the works of Descartes; and it has likewise appeared in different shapes in those of Malebranche, Leibnitz, and Wolfe.

This absurd hypothesis, M. Degerando, after all that has been said upon it, still thinks it his duty to demolish; and he accordingly attacks it with a multitude of arguments, zealously collected from every hostile corner. As he is pleased to consider this as a fundamental problem in the philosophy of the mind, we shall, out of respect to his opinion, present our readers with a brief outline of his refutation. 1. The difference which the mind readily perceives between sensible and abstract or general ideas, produced the belief that the latter are innate. 2. But this is merely supposition; for, as no one can recollect what ideas were impressed upon his mind from its first existence, it is consequently impossible to prove that any existed there previous to the exercise of the senses. And as it is admitted that many of these ideas

remain long unobserved, and that they are not, when recognised, accompanied with any recollection of their former existence in the intellect, it is therefore plainly absurd to affirm that they must have existed there, though neither perceived or remembered. 3. Experience also contradicts the supposition; for the ideas that are held to be innate, are precisely those which appear most obscure and indistinct among mankind in general, and particularly among those who approach nearest to the simplicity of nature, and who ought of course to exhibit those original impressions in their most perfect state. 4. Besides, it is in many cases easy to develop those processes of thought by which abstract or general ideas are formed in the mind. And as it is impossible to conceive any one of them without the intervention of some idea of sensation, it is altogether incongruous to suppose them independent of those sensible impressions which render them objects of thought. 5. That we have an innate idea of the Deity, for instance, has been zealously asserted by the most distinguished partizans of this doctrine. But how, upon this supposition, is it possible to account for the monstrous and contradictory conceptions of mankind regarding the Divinity, his nature and attributes?

'We read in the *Cours d'Instruction d'un Sourd-Muet*, par L'Abbe Sicard, that when he had brought his pupil Massieu to conceive the idea of an Author of the universe, he cried, "let me go to my father and mother to inform them of this happy news." This interesting young man concluded that his parents were ignorant of this truth, because he had till then been ignorant of it. He thought the idea as new to all mankind as it was to himself. Massieu has written the history of his life, which he intends to publish. He has there developed the series of thoughts which occupied his mind previous to his instruction; he will himself inform us, that every kind of abstract or intellectual notion was, till then, unknown to him. Will the partizans of innate ideas resist the force of this striking testimony?' p. 131.

After this tedious examination of a doctrine, which has no other merit but that of being connected, like many other absurd doctrines, with some celebrated names, the author proceeds, in the second part of his book, to explain in what manner we become possessed of all our ideas by means of the senses. Among the philosophers, he observes, who have adopted this principle, a considerable diversity of opinion has prevailed regarding the way in which the mind obtains those secondary ideas, which are not immediately produced by external impressions. In order to simplify the process, they have in general excluded all complex agency of the intellectual faculties, and hence the formation of that class of ideas has been ascribed exclusively to one or two of these faculties, whereas it is in fact a common property of all.

'It is obvious that *attention* is necessary to the formation of ideas; for what we do not observe we cannot know. *Reflection* is equally necessary; for we must examine our thoughts to know what passes within us. *Memory* is often necessary; for there are many ideas which we can only form by comparing the present with the past. *Imagination* is often necessary; for by means of it, we form ideas of a vast number of objects that we never saw, which we suppose beyond our reach, are simply possible. *Judgement* furnishes a great supply: How many ideas of relations have we not? It is only by this faculty that we can compare objects and discover their relations. The *reasoning* faculty also serves to enrich us with ideas; for there are many relations so complicated or remote, that one act of judgment is not sufficient to discover them; a series of judgments, or a process of reasoning, is therefore necessary.' p. 187-8.

The necessary cooperation of all the intellectual powers towards the formation of ideas, is therefore the distinguishing principle of our author's system. In a separate examination, appropriated to each faculty, he points out the ideas, or classes of ideas, that respectively belong to them: and he thus makes it appear that all human knowledge may be ultimately resolved either into the primitive ideas of sensation, or into those secondary ideas that are produced by the exercise of our various powers upon the objects of sense. Having thus endeavoured to lay before our readers the leading principles of M. Degerando's system, we shall now make a few general observations.

1. In the general views which he takes of the subject, in his preliminary chapter, it appears to us that he is deficient not only in originality of thought, but in lucid and convincing argument. He has added nothing to what Condillac had already written upon the importance of investigating the origin of ideas, and he has failed to state his arguments with that degree of precision and connexion which is necessary to produce a definite and lasting impression upon an unpractised mind. He attempts an explanation of some of those ambiguous, but important words, which have long perplexed metaphysical discussions; but his elucidations have left them in all their original obscurity. The comment upon the word *idea* is particularly brief and unsatisfactory; so that, in a treatise upon the origin of ideas, we are left in some doubt about the real object of inquiry. He adopts the definition of Locke; by which, idea is made to denote 'whatever is the object of the understanding when we think.' Now this definition, as understood by Locke, involves the whole of the exploded doctrines of the ideal system. Is M. Degerando ignorant of all this, or does he still adhere to the tenets of the ideal creed? It was certainly incumbent upon him to have been explicit on a point of

so much importance, and not to have left his readers to conjecture whether or not he connects the definition which he has borrowed with the relative doctrines which are known to have been held by its author. The work itself does not effectually remove every doubt upon the subject; for the author sometimes speaks in the appropriate language of the ideal school. In fact, it does not appear to us that any of the French philosophers have made great progress towards a detection of the manifold errors which the doctrine of ideas has engrafted upon the science of mind. In what they have written, they have by no means gone to the bottom of the matter; and they have accordingly formed very inadequate conceptions of the advantages resulting from a total rejection of the principles, and even the language of the ideal philosophy.

2. The author has, in our apprehension, given himself a great deal of unnecessary trouble, by dedicating half a volume to the refutation of innate ideas. The triumphant reasonings of Gassendi and Locke had long ago overturned every argument in support of that chimerical doctrine: And, so far from retaining any prejudice in its favour, the continental philosophers seem decidedly partial to that system which, in the most unqualified manner, refers every idea of the mind to external impressions. As, therefore, the prevailing philosophy is completely hostile to the Cartesian hypothesis, the author might have safely confined himself to an explanation of his own system, without expatiating at such length upon this unpopular doctrine. Besides, the second part of his book itself proves (if it prove any thing), that the greater part of the first is altogether superfluous. It is the object of that part of the work to prove, that the senses, either immediately or mediately, furnish all the materials of our knowledge. Now, if this is established by well supported reasoning, it was surely altogether useless to bestow so much attention upon the *direct* refutation of a hypothesis which the author was about to overturn *indirectly*. In fact, it is no more necessary for a metaphysician to enter upon a direct refutation of the hypothesis of innate ideas, when he intends to prove that all ideas arise from experience, than it would be for an astronomer, who is about to demonstrate the true theory of the planetary system upon the principles of gravitation, to expose, at full length, the erroneous disposition of that system in the cycles and epicycles of Eudoxus and Ptolemy. But, independently of these considerations, it must be recollected that innate ideas can only be a subject of controversy among those who, by the word *idea* mean not merely a notion or conception, but an image, or some other indefinable object of thought immediately present to and existing in the mind. Now, as it has been

demonstrated that ideas, in this latter sense, are mere antiquated fictions, it is consequently absurd to enquire whether or not any of them are innate. No one who has attentively studied the works of Dr. Reid can entertain any doubt upon this subject: but the French philosophers seem but superficially acquainted with the principles of his philosophy; and therefore we find them engaged in discussions which that philosophy has completely superseded.

3. The author, in speaking of his own system, has frequently adopted a language that can only be applied with propriety to the celebrated system which makes *sensation* the only source of ideas. The maxim, *nil est in intellectu quod non prius fuit in sensu*, commonly, but erroneously, ascribed to Aristotle, is generally quoted by those who embrace that system, as descriptive of their peculiar tenets. The author gives this maxim the same meaning which these philosophers affix to it;* the only meaning indeed of which it appears capable: and yet, with great inconsistency, he frequently refers to it as equally applicable to the doctrines which he teaches. But, as the system to which we have alluded is, upon his principles, altogether incompetent to account for the production of ideas, we are at a loss to perceive the propriety of his unqualified repetition of its fundamental principle. It was surely a very possible matter to find terms expressive of his rejection of innate ideas, without recurring to those which involve conclusions at variance with his own. It certainly is not the object of his work to deduce all knowledge from *sensation:* its object, if we can understand him, is to prove that our sensations furnish the occasions upon which all our ideas are, by the intervention of certain intellectual operations, suggested to the mind. As this is obviously his meaning in contending that the formation of ideas is the joint work of all the intellectual faculties, it is extremely clear that the terms in which he so frequently expresses himself by no means harmonize with the import of his reasonings. It will not be contended, surely, that the primary instrumentality of sensation towards the production of all our ideas, is a sufficient justification of that mode of speaking to which we object; for, as sensation is equally instrumental to the development of every mode of human thought, it would, upon that principle, be as just to ascribe to it the whole of those intellectual powers which constitute the inherent and distinctive attributes of mind. Condillac, indeed, who refers all knowledge to *sensation*, frequently expresses himself as if he also thought that all these faculties are enveloped in it. But as this author inculcates a

* Il n'y a rien dans l'entendement qui n'ait été dans la sensation.

very different doctrine, he is evidently guilty of great inaccuracy of language, in combining principles and conclusions reciprocally subversive of each other.

4. We have looked in vain, in the work before us, for that 'new system' of which the author gives such confident promise. His claim to originality is founded upon his illustration of the principle, 'that all the intellectual powers contribute to the formation of ideas.' But this principle is by no means peculiar to him; nor does it owe its evidence entirely to the force of his reasoning. That principle forms the groundwork of those valuable speculations in which Dr. Reid has so successfully exposed the insufficiency of Locke's theory of the origin of knowledge. The discoveries of Reid gave a new light to the whole of this question; and it is in fact in his writings, and in those of his disciples, that we are to look for the most satisfactory information upon that branch of the philosophy of mind which regards the origin of ideas. It is somewhat surprising that M. Degerando takes no notice of the best authorities upon the question which he has ventured to investigate; and that he should have taken to himself the merit of a principle which, he must be satisfied, if he knows any thing at all of the Scotish metaphysical school, did not originate with him. But we do not, after all, intend to depreciate our author's labours merely because he has been anticipated in his fundamental principle. It was still left to him to produce a systematic account of the origin of all our ideas, founded upon principles thus powerfully supported. In this respect, we admit he has considerable merit; and his work may be of use in putting his countrymen in the way of obtaining more correct notions upon this subject than they have hitherto attained. It would not be difficult, were we to enter into a minute examination, to point out errors in his account of the generation of particular ideas. But the discussion would be more prolix than profitable; and we are unwilling to deal very rigorously with a work composed under circumstances so peculiar. The author is, upon the whole sound and correct in his conceptions of the nature and objects of metaphysical research; and he never teazes his readers with any of those useless subtilties with which some thoughtless writers of his country are given to torture the brains of those who think slowly. We cannot, however, say much for his style; it is vague, figurative, and declamatory, and has little of that precision and unambitious simplicity so indispensably requisite in all metaphysical inquiries.

ART. V. *Mathematical Papers in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. VIII. & IX.* 1804.

On the Orbits in which Bodies revolve, being acted upon by a Centripetal Force varying as any Function of the Distance, when those Orbits have two Apsides. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

IN the 9th section of the first book of the Principia, the illustrious author treats of moveable orbits, and of the motion of the apsides; a part of his subject not a little intricate, and which it has required all the power of the modern calculus fully to develop. The method of Newton is confined to orbits very nearly circular, and indeed only gives the limit of the motion of the apsides, which would ultimately take place, when the real orbit, by becoming less and less eccentric, coincides with a circle.

The paper of Mr. Brinkley may be considered as a comment on this part of the Principia. It gives a method of determining the orbit, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as any function of the distance. The method of solution is general, and applies to eccentric orbits; and it is therefore preferable to that of Newton, which is only applicable to orbits very nearly circular.

The paper contains three propositions. In the first it is shewn that an orbit, having two apsides, and described by a centripetal force varying in the inverse proportion of the square of the distance, is an ellipse. In the second the case of the 2d Cor. to the 45th Prop. of the first book of the Principia is considered, viz. when the centripetal force consists of two parts, one varying in the inverse ratio of the square of the distance, and the other in the simple ratio of the distance. In the third proposition, the orbit is determined, in the case of two apsides, when the centripetal force varies as an indefinite power of the distance.

Of these propositions, the second is certainly the most important, on account of its application to the lunar orbit. The result obtained by Mr. Brinkley agrees with the limit assigned by Newton; and both bring out the motion of the apogee of the Moon just the half of what it really amounts to by observation. It is well known that Clairaut, D'Alembert, and Euler, in their first attempts to resolve the problem of the three bodies, were usually led to the same conclusion as Newton respecting the motion of the lunar apogee. Such a coincidence in result cannot be the effect of chance; and accordingly it will be found, that the determination of those celebrated mathematicians, as well as the limit as-

signed by Newton, depends only on the mean quantity of the disturbing force of the Sun, or rather on that part of the disturbing force which is independent of the angular distance of the Sun and Moon. The *data* actually employed being in effect the same, it is not susprising that the same result should be obtained, although different methods of solution are employed.

On the other hand, some mathematicians, and in particular Mr. Walmsley, have conceived Newton's conclusion to be erroneous; and, from the very same *data*, have brought out a motion of the apogee agreeing with observation. But it must be confessed, that no dependence can be placed on the solution of Mr. Walmsley; because it is hypothetical, and part of the Sun's disturbing force is neglected, without any sufficient reason assigned. On this head, our sentiments are consonant to those of Mr. Brinkley.

'In the lunar orbit referred to the ecliptic, the perturbing force in the direction of the radius vector is expressed by a function of that radius vector, and of the angular distance of the Moon from the Sun; and the perturbing force in a direction perpendicular to the radius vector, is expressed by another function of the same quantities. The former force, in its mean quantity, is expressed by a function of the radius vector only. The mean quantity of the latter = 0. It has therefore been often imagined, that the mean motion of the lunar apogee might be investigated, by considering the Moon acted upon by a centripetal force, expressed by a function of the distance only. The arguments for this opinion are certainly plausible, but have by no means the weight of demonstration. The result shows, that such an opinion rests upon no solid foundation. It does not appear to be possible to investigate the mean motion of the lunar apsides, except from the general expressions of the forces in the direction of the radius vector, and in the direction perpendicular thereto.' Vol. VIII. p. 225.

On Determining Innumerable Portions of a Sphere, the Solidities and Spherical Superficies of which Portions are at the same time algebraically assignable. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

The famous problem proposed by Viviani in 1692 has lately been revived. In the second mathematical volume of the French National Institute, M. Bossut has announced a new theorem, asserting, that the construction of the Florentine problem determines a portion of the solidity of a sphere that may be exactly cubed, as well as a portion of its surface that may be exactly squared. M. Bossut has contented himself with announcing his theorem, and has reserved his investigation for the present.

Problems of this sort, although they are certainly to be reckoned more curious than useful, yet they serve to sharpen the ingenuity of mathematicians, and may lead to the invention of new methods of investigation, or to the improvement and generalization of such as are already known. They are, for the most part, indeterminate, admitting many answers; and on this account they are the more difficult. The methods of solution employed, may be referred to two classes. Those mathematicians who delight in the general methods of the modern analysis, deduce the solution of problems concerning surfaces that may be squared, and solids that may be cubed, by means of double and triple integrals. The reader who is fond of speculations of this kind will find an ingenious specimen in a paper of Mr. Woodhouse, published in the Philosophical Transactions of London for 1801, where the new theorem of Bossut is demonstrated. Other mathematicians, who prefer the simple and elegant, though prolix methods of geometry, to the more abstruse and general deductions of modern analysis, seek to investigate such problems by reasonings drawn from the geometrical properties of the figure under consideration. In this latter class we reckon Mr. Brinkley: and to such of our readers as have a taste congenial to his own, we recommend his paper as containing an ingenious and skilful application of geometry to a problem of some difficulty.

On Dr. Halley's Series for the calculations of Logarithms. By the Rev. Richard Murray, D. D. late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

We are informed in a note, that this essay was found among the papers of Dr. Murray after his death. He had drawn it up, shortly after his appointment in 1763 to the Professorship of Mathematics, for the instruction of his pupils; and much of it, therefore, is employed in explanations, which, had he designed it for publication, he would have retrenched. This notice sufficiently explains the nature of the present paper.

An Examination of various Solutions of Kepler's Problem, and a Short Practical Solution of that Problem pointed out, By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. M. R. I. A. Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

This is a very long paper, consisting of no less than forty-eight pages. Almost all the solutions of Kepler's problem that have

been proposed, are examined with minuteness, and the degrees of exactness in the results pointed out. The practical astronomer, to whom is devolved the labour of computing tables of the motions of the planets, will here find much useful information to guide him in the choice of the methods of calculation.

In perusing this paper, we could not help regretting that the learned author did not adopt a more scientific arrangement in treating of his subject. Most of the practical methods for Kepler's problem resolve themselves into two parts; viz. a rule for finding a first approximation to the eccentric anomaly, and a method of correcting the first result to the degree of exactness required. An attentive examination will easily discover, that the ulterior corrections, in almost all the solutions, are in effect the same; depending on the variation of one quantity in a certain function, corresponding to a given variation of another quantity in the same function. Thus the value of the several methods, as well as their degree of convergency, depends on the accuracy of the first approximation. In the arrangement of Mr. Brinkley, each solution is separately examined, without much reference to principles previously laid down; and the reader is repeatedly obliged to go over the same ground.

Mr. Brinkley highly extols Newton's first practical method, *(Princ. Math. lib.* 1. *sect.* 6. *Schol.)*; yet that method is nothing more than a series of corrections deduced by successive substitutions in the formula that expresses the relation of the small variations of the mean and eccentric anomalies. The rate of convergency, measured by a scale of the powers of the eccentricity, is indeed very great; but, when the ellipse is evanescent, the rapidity of the approximations cannot be estimated by such a scale; and the success of the method depends entirely on the first assumption, for which no rule is given.

Mr. Brinkley has illustrated his own practical rule by examples in orbits of all degrees of eccentricity. He has also added the method of deriving the place of a comet moving in an eccentric ellipse from the place in a parabola of the same perihelion distance.

We cannot dismiss this paper without expressing our disapprobation of the very inelegant, and even uncouth, manner in which it is printed. This observation applies to all the mathematical papers in the Transactions of the Academy that we have seen. We have likewise to recommend it to Mr. Brinkley, in his future speculations, to adopt the ordinary method of notation, when he has occasion to introduce the arithmetic of sines.

A Theorem for finding the Surface of an Oblique Cylinder, with its Geometrical Demonstration. Also, an Appendix, containing some Observations on the Methods of Finding the Circumference of a very Eccentric Ellipse; including a Geometrical Demonstration of the remarkable Property of Elliptic Ares discovered by Count Fagnani. By the Rev. J. Brinkley, A. M. M. R. I. A. and Andrews Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin.

The theorem contained in this paper is thus enunciated: 'The surface of an oblique cylinder is equal to a rectangle under the diameter of its base and the circumference of an ellipse, the axes of which are the length and perpendicular height of the cylinder.' This theorem is very easily investigated by the method of fluctions; but it is demonstrated by Mr. Brinkley, after the manner of the ancient geometers, by the method of exhaustions.

In the Appendix, the lovers of the ancient geometrical method will find a very neat demonstration of the theorem of Count Fagnani. This theorem is introduced here on account of its use in computing the peripheres of ellipses of great eccentricity; a subject which the reader will find discussed by Mr. Wallace in the fifth volume of the Edinburgh Transactions, and more fully by Mr. Woodhouse, in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions of London, just published.

To the Appendix is added a dissertation in vindication of the method of prime and ultimate ratios.

ART. VI. *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of Sir William Jones.* By Lord Teignmouth. 4to. pp. 530. Hatchard, London 1804.

THOUGH this book is less interesting, on the whole, than the title of it had led us to expect, and though it contain but little original information of any great importance, we believe it will be read with very general satisfaction, and feel that it cannot be judged of but with indulgence and respect. It is written with considerable elegance, and very great modesty, by Lord Teignmouth; and its prolixity—for it is sometimes prolix—seems evidently to proceed from an unfeigned and affectionate partiality to the memory of the friend whose history it professes to record.

The work, indeed, is indebted for its chief attraction to the interesting and engaging character of its subject. The name of Sir William Jones is associated, not only with the splendour of a

great reputation, but with almost all the amiable and exemplary virtues; and the gentler affections, which were a little chilled by the aspect of his vast literary attainments, are won sweetly back, and rest with delight upon the view which is here exhibited, of the purity, the integrity, and the mildness of his private manners. His life, indeed, seems, from his earliest youth, not only to have been undefiled by those coarser blemishes of excess and debauchery, which are generally excluded by an addiction to letters, but to have been distinguished for all that manly exertion, and varied activity, which so rarely escapes unimpaired from the languor of an academical retirement; while it was adorned by the polished manners and elegant accomplishments which are still more frequently neglected by the man of business and the scholar.

The most remarkable features in his character, indeed, seem to have resulted from the union of this gentleness and modesty of disposition, with a very lofty conception of his own capability and destination. Without ever appearing to presume upon the force of his genius or the vigour of his understanding, he seems to have thought nothing beyond the reach of his industry and perseverance. From the very commencement of his career, accordingly, he appears to have tasked himself very highly; and having, in his early youth, set before his eyes the standard of a noble and accomplished character in every department of excellence, he seems never to have lost sight of this object of emulation, and never to have remitted his exertions to elevate and conform himself to it in every particular. Though born in a condition very remote from affluence, he very soon determined to give himself the education of a finished gentlemen, and not only to cultivate all the elegance and refinement that is implied in that appellation, but to carry into the practice of an honourable profession all the lights and ornaments of philosophy and learning, and, extending his ambition beyond the attainment of mere literary or professional eminence, to qualify himself for the management of public affairs, and to look forward to the higher rewards of patriotic virtue and political skill.

The perseverance and exemplary industry with which he laboured in the prosecution of this magnificent plan, and the distinguished success which attended the accomplishment of all that part of it which the shortness of his life permitted him to execute, afford an instructive lesson to all who may be inclined, by equal diligence, to deserve an equal reward. The more that we learn, indeed, of the early history of those who have left a great name to posterity, we shall probably be the more firmly persuaded, that no substantial or permanent excellence can ever be attained without much pains, labour and preparation, and that extra-

ordinary talents are less necessary to the most brilliant success than perseverance and application. Great as Sir William Jones's attainments unquestionably were, they may be contemplated without despair by any one who is not frightened at his industry.

In expressing this sentiment, we have perhaps already insinuated pretty clearly the opinion which we have been led to form of the genius of this exemplary student, and the limits which we are inclined to assign to our admiration of his intellectual attainments. A consummate scholar, an accomplished philologist, an elegant critic, a candid and perspicuous reasoner, he was undoubtedly—and it is impossible to read either his works or his history, without feeling that, in all these capacities, he was entitled to the very highest distinction; but we do not feel quite so well assured of the extent of his *philosophical* capacity, of the original strength of his understanding, or of his familiarity with those general principles which lead to great and simple discoveries, and bind together, into one useful whole, the particulars of our miscellaneous knowledge. His studies and pursuits were principally directed to particulars; and in all his researches and inquiries, it seems to have been his object rather to follow out assumed and admitted principles to more extensive or precise conclusions, than to investigate the authority of the principles themselves, or to settle the truth of the conclusion on a solid basis of philosophy, independent of the aid of postulates, or the supports of authority.

We are sufficiently sensible that we expose ourselves both to the imputation, and to the vengeance of national partiality, when we venture to suggest, that the labour which Sir William Jones bestowed to acquire the reputation of a great scholar in the southern part of the island, has rather obstructed than assisted his pretensions to that of a philosophical writer in the North. Our Scotish prejudices lead us irresistibly to believe, that he was a little spoiled by the classical and metrical discipline of English schools and universities; and we cannot help fancying, that his understanding would have been more vigorous, and his judgment more decisive, if he had not imbibed so deeply that affection for Greek and prosody, and classical and mythological allusions, which characterises so decidedly the seminaries in which he was bred. These things are the proper boast and ornament of a schoolboy, but will not long go far in procuring glory to a man. The fame of Sir William Jones rests indeed upon a firmer basis; but it has rather been restrained than extended, we conceive, by the effects of this early partiality. Though his language be in general pure, polished and harmonious, it is not entirely free from a certain air of pedantry; and many of his best compositions are rendered languid and insipid by those classical affectations which may still be per-

mitted to adorn an academical declamation. We can excuse him at fourteen for talking to his sister of Solon and Crœsus; but we have less toleration for a barrister, who professes to write a treatise of English law in imitation of the analytic method of Aristotle, or a politician who compares the balance of the British constitution to the harmony produced by the flute of Aristoxenus, or the lyre of Timotheus. The mythological digressions of Pindar have also been too carefully copied in his poetical addresses to the divinities of the East; and, indeed, by far the greater part of his poetry is so learned and elaborate, that the perusal of it is rather a labour than a relaxation.

This volume consists of a narrative and observations from the pen of Lord Teignmouth, interspersed with a great variety of letters from Sir William Jones, and a few from some of his correspondents. We shall first lay before our readers a short abstract of the biography, and afterwards subjoin a few extracts from the correspondence, which fills up the largest part of the book.

Sir William Jones was born in London in the year 1746. His father, who was a teacher of mathematics, died when his son was only three years of age, and left him, with a very small fortune, to the care of a mother of unusual accomplishments and merit. Under her tuition, he imbibed a passion for reading and inquiry, that had already manifested itself in a very decided manner, when he was sent to Harrow school in the seventh year of his age. At this seminary he made such a remarkable proficiency under the direction of Dr. Thackeray and Dr. Sumner, that he was often flattered, by the inquiries of strangers, under the title of the Great Scholar, and drew, from the former of these intelligent preceptors, an opinion, that 'Jones was a boy of so active a mind, that if he were left naked and friendless on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheless find the road to fame and fortune.' In the year 1764, he entered at University College, Oxford. To the very extraordinary share of classical erudition which he carried with him to that seminary, he here added a knowledge of Arabic, which he acquired by the assistance of a native of Aleppo, whom his zeal for the study induced him to maintain at college for several months, at an expence which his finances could ill afford. By the help of Meninski and Gentius, he made at the same time a considerable progress in the Persic.

His vacations were passed in London, where he daily attended the schools of Angelo, for the purpose of acquiring the elegant accomplishments of riding and fencing. He was always a strenuous advocate for the practice of bodily exercises, as no less useful to invigorate his frame, than as a necessary qualification for any active exertions to which he might eventually be called. At home, his attention was directed to

the modern languages; and he read the best authors in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, following in all respects the plan of education recommended by Milton, which he had by heart; and thus, to transcribe an observation of his own, with the fortune of a peasant giving himself the education of a prince.' p. 33-4.

In 1765 he accepted the situation of private tutor in the family of Lord Spencer, and in the year following was appointed to a fellowship in the University. In the family where he had now fixed his residence, he not only pursued his classical studies with unremitting eagerness, but indulged his ambition for universal accomplishment, by taking private lessons in dancing from the celebrated Gallini, and practising the broadsword with an old pensioner at Chelsea. In 1767 he attended the noble family in a short visit to the continent, and dedicated a considerable part of the three weeks he remained at Spa, 'to the lessons of Janson of Aix-la-Chapelle, a most incomparable dancing-master.' In 1768 he was applied to, on the part of the King of Denmark, to translate into French a Persian manuscript, containing the life of Nadir Shah, a proposal which he at first declined; but finding that no other person was disposed to undertake it, and unwilling that his royal employer should be obliged to go to France for the performance of any literary task, he was at length prevailed on to engage in it, and finished it in the course of a single year. About this period he formed an intimate acquaintance with Count Revicski, afterwards the imperial minister at Warsaw, and Ambassador at the Court of England, but distinguished and recommended at this time chiefly by his literary accomplishments, and his proficiency in the oriental languages. Lord Teignmouth has inserted a pretty extensive series of letters between him and the subject of his biography. The winter of 1769 was spent by Mr. Jones and his pupil at Nice; in spring they travelled through a considerable part of France, passed the summer at Spa, and returned to England in August 1770. During this tour he seems to have composed a tragedy called Solyman, which he afterwards destroyed, and a treatise on education, of which nothing but the plan or argument has been preserved.

Soon after his return to England he left the family of Lord Spencer, and finally dedicated himself to the study of the law as a profession. In 1772 he seems to have entertained some expectation of being appointed ambassador to the Sublime Porte, though we are rather at a loss to conceive through what interest he could then pretend to so exalted a situation. He continued his professional studies with great diligence, though he found leisure, in the intervals, to write his celebrated letter to Anque-

til de Perron, and to project an epic poem and a history of the Turks, neither of which were ever completed. In 1774 he published his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, and in the end of the same year was called to the Bar. His practice was not very extensive; but his reputation for learning, diligence, and independence of character, was continually rising. In 1778 he published a translation of the Speeches of Isæus, and in 1780 proposed himself as a candidate for representing the University of Oxford in Parliament; but after receiving the most flattering marks of respect from many of the members of that learned body, he found it expedient to decline the contest, and withdrew from the competition. In the end of that year he published a translation of the seven famous Arabic poems, and in the course of the two following years his Essay on the Law of Bailments, and several odes and pamphlets, of a temporary and political nature.

In spring 1783 he was gratified by an appointment to the situation of a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal —an office to which his hopes and wishes had been directed from his first entrance into life, and which appeared to give him all the opportunities, both of study and beneficence, which he had long earnestly desired. Immediately upon his nomination he married Miss Shipley, daughter of the bishop of St. Asaph, to whom he had been long and tenderly attached, and embarked in April for that country, from which he was never to return.

His employments in India are pretty well known to all who have any acquaintance with his writings. He was regular and indefatigable in his attendance on the duties of his office, and besides the extensive and diversified inquiries into the literature and philosophy of Asia, which have given him so distinguished a place in the annals of oriental learning, he seems to have made no mean proficiency in botany and natural history. In the midst of these refined and diversified employments, his health, which had been considerably weakened by repeated attacks of the fever of the country, was assailed at last by an inflammation of the liver, and, after a very short illness, he expired in the month of April 1794.

Such, in a few words, is the outline of the life of Sir William Jones; a life diversified with a greater variety of events than usually occur in the history of a man of letters; but chiefly remarkable for its unblemished purity, and for the unexampled industry, which was able to crowd in so short a period so many and so difficult acquisitions.

The correspondence, which occupies rather more than one half of the present publication, has, upon the whole, disap-

pointed us. The greater part of the letters written before the author's departure to India are addressed to Count Reviczki and to Mr. Schultens, and consist almost entirely of critical remarks on Asiatic literature, and communications with regard to the reading and studies of the parties. They have nothing of that intimacy, familiarity or freedom, therefore, which forms the great charm of epistolary writing, and neither amuse us by the gaiety of anecdote, nor interest us by the traits which they disclose of the feelings and characters of the writers. In a dissertation on the merits of Hafez, we cannot reasonably expect either scandal or pleasantry; and a man is not led to exhibit any of the finer features of his mind, in giving an account of the keys of the Chinese language. This part of the correspondence, therefore, bears but little resemblance to a collection of modern letters, and puts us more in mind of the *Epistolæ eruditorum virorum*, or the prolusions of some German academicians. To make the parallel more complete, the greater part of them are written in Latin, and are exhibited in that form in the Appendix, though the noble biographer has inserted a translation in the body of the work.

From this collection it would not be easy to extract much that would suit the taste of the general reader. To justify, in some measure, the censure we have ventured to pass upon the classical affectation of Sir William Jones, and the general description we have given of this part of his letters, we shall quote the following passage from an epistle to Schultens, the subject of which certainly did not naturally suggest so many Greek and Roman recollections.

'The constitution of England is in no respect inferior to that of Rome or Athens; this is my fixed opinion, which I formed in my earliest years, and shall ever retain. Although I sincerely acknowledge the charms of polite literature, I must at the same time adopt the sentiment of Neoptolemus in the tragedy, that we can philosophise with a few only, and no less the axiom of Hippocrates, that life is short, art long, and time swift. But I will also maintain the excellence and the delight of other studies. What, shall we deny that there is pleasure in mathematics, when we recollect Archimedes, the prince of geometricians, who was so intensely absorbed in the demonstration of a problem, that he did not discover Syracuse was taken? Can we conceive any study more important, than the single one of the laws of our own country? Let me recal to your recollection the observations of L. Crassus and Q. Scævola on this subject, in the treatise of Cicero de Oratore. What! do you imagine the goddess of eloquence to possess less attractions than Thalia or Polyhymnia, or have you forgotten the epithets which Ennius bestows on Cethegus, the quintessence of eloquence, and the flower of the people? Is there a man existing who

would not rather resemble Cicero, whom I wish absolutely to make my model, both in the course of his life and studies, than be like Varro, however learned, or Lucretius, however ingenious as a poet? If the study of the law were really unpleasant and disgusting, which is far from the truth, the example of the wisest of the ancients, and of Minerva herself, the goddess of wisdom, would justify me in preferring the useful olive to the barren laurel.' p. 123.

It is not easy to conceive that a grown man of thirty years of age, with some pretensions to the character of a philosopher, should have addressed an epistle of this kind to a foreigner, who would infallibly shew it to all his associates. The style of Sir William Jones, in his complimentary addresses to foreign literati, appears to us to be equally pedantic and unnatural. The infant Don Gabriel it seems (or rather we may presume his tutor) translated the history of Sallust into Spanish, and a loyal Doctor of Madrid transmitted a copy of the regal version to Sir William Jones, who makes his acknowledgements in the following strain of scholastic panegyric.

'I really was at a loss to decide, whether I should begin my letter by congratulating you on having so excellent a translator, or by thanking you for this agreeable proof of your remembrance. I look forward to the increasing splendour, which the arts and sciences must attain in a country, where the son of the king possess genius and erudition, capable of translating and illustrating, with learned notes, the first of the Roman historians: How few youths amongst the nobility in other countries possess the requisite ability or inclination for such a task! The history of Sallust is a performance of great depth, wisdom, and dignity; to understand it well is no small praise, to explain it properly is still more commendable, but to translate it elegantly excites admiration. If all this had been accomplished by a private individual, he would have merited applause, if by a youth he would have had a claim to literary honours, but when to the title of youth that of prince is added, we cannot too highly extol, or too loudly applaud, his distinguished merit.' p. 129.

These passages certainly are more in the taste of a Greek rhetorician than of an English gentleman. But Sir William Jones does not always write so affectedly. There are one or two letters in the collection that are remarkably easy, good-humoured, and flowing, though it can scarcely be said for any of the correspondence, that it is playful, brilliant, or witty. The following passage from a letter to Lady Spencer is certainly in a very pleasing style.

'While Mrs. Poyntz staid at Lyons, I made an excursion to Geneva, in hopes of seeing Voltaire, but was disappointed. I sent him a note with a few verses, implying that the muse of tragedy had left her ancient seat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake, &c. He returned this answer: "The worst of French poets

and philosophers is almost dying; age and sickness have brought him to his last day; he can converse with nobody, and entreats Mr. Jones to excuse and pity him. He presents him with his humble respects." But he was not so ill as he imagined; for he had been walking in his court, and went into his house just as I came to it. The servants shewed me somebody at a window, who they said was he; but I had scarce a glimpse of him. I am inclined to think that Voltaire begins to be rather serious, when he finds himself upon the brink of eternity; and that he refuses to see company, because he cannot display his former wit and sprightliness. I find my book is published;* I am not at all solicitous about its success; as I did not choose the subject myself, I am not answerable for the wild extravagance of the style, nor for the faults of the original; but if your ladyship takes the trouble to read the dissertation at the end, you may perhaps find some new and pleasing images. The work has one advantage, it is certainly authentic. Lady Georgiana is so good as to inquire how Soliman goes on; pray tell her he is in great affliction, as he begins to suspect the innocence of Mustafa, who is just slain. To be serious, my tragedy is just finished; and I hope to shew it to your Ladyship in a short time.

'De la Fontaine is with us; he seems very well, but is still weak and complaining. I must add a little stroke of French courage, which I have just heard. In the midst of all the disasters of the fire-works, the Mareschal de Richelieu was in such a panic, that he got out of his carriage, and screamed out, Est-ce qu'on veut laisser perir un Mareschal de France? N'y a-t-il personne pour secourir un Mareschal de France? —This will be an eternal joke against him!—' p. 78, 79.

We add also the following account of the author's excursion to a country residence of Milton, both for the sake of the information it contains, and for the unassuming elegance of the description.

'The necessary trouble of correcting the first printed sheets of my history, prevented me to-day from paying a proper respect to the memory of Shakespeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was resolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet, and set out in the morning, in company with a friend, to visit a place where Milton spent some part of his life, and where, in all probability, he composed several of his earliest productions. It is a small village, situated on a pleasant hill, about three miles from Oxford, and called Forest Hill, because it formerly lay contiguous to a forest, which has since been cut down. The poet chose this place of retirement after his first marriage; and he describes the beauties of his retreat in that fine passage of his L'Allegro:

Strait mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
Whilst the landscape round it measures:
Russet lawns, and fallows grey
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;

* Translation of the Life of Nadir Shah.

Mountains, on whose barren breast,
The lab'ring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim, with daisies pied,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it sees,
Bosom'd high in tufted trees.
* * * * * *
Hard by a cottage chimney smokes,
From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

'It was neither the proper season of the year nor time of the day to hear all the rural sounds, and see all the objects mentioned in this description; but, by a pleasing concurrence of circumstances, we were saluted, upon our approach to the village, with the music of the mower and his scythe; we saw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

'As we ascended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable stillness and natural simplicity of the whole scene, gave to us the highest pleasure. We at length reached the spot whence Milton undoubtedly took most of his images: it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a most extensive prospect on all sides: the distant mountains that seemed to support the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly shaded with trees of the finest verdure, and partly raised above the groves that surrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyish colour, where the sheep were feeding at large; in short, the view of the streams and rivers,—convinced us that there was not a single useless or idle word in the above mentioned description, but that it was a most exact and lively representation of nature. Thus will this fine passage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactness. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthusiasm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

'The poet's house is close to the church; the greatest part of it has been pulled down, and what remains belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that several papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was last in possession of the estate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers: one of them showed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleased with another, who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

'It must not be omitted that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are so elegantly described in the Pensieroso. Most of the cottage windows are overgrown with sweetbriars, vines, and honeysuckles; and that Milton's habitation had the same rustic ornament, we may conclude from his description of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Thro' the sweetbriar, or the vine,
Or the twisted eglantine:

for it is evident, that he meant a sort of honeysuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly used for the sweetbriar, which he could not mention twice in the same couplet.' p. 67—69.

As an additional proof of the occasional gaiety and pleasantry of this profound student, we annex two stanzas of a light and airy song, composed by him almost *ex tempore*, to enliven a sort of fête champêtre given by the barristers on a circuit, on the banks of the Wye—

'Fair Tivy, how sweet are thy waves gently flowing,
Thy wild oaken woods, and green eglantine bow'rs,
Thy banks with the blush-rose and amaranth glowing,
While friendship and mirth claim these laborless hours!
Yet weak is our vaunt, while something we want,
More sweet than the pleasure which *prospects* can give;
Come, smile, damsels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it blissful to live.'

'How gay is the circle of friends round a table,
Where stately Kilgarran* o'erhangs the brown dale,
Where none are unwilling, and few are unable,
To sing a wild song, or repeat a wild tale!
Yet weak is our vaunt, while something we want,
More sweet than the pleasure that *friendship* can give:
Come, smile, damsels of Cardigan,
Love can alone make it blissful to live.' p. 200.

The following letter, addressed to his former pupil Lord Althorpe a short time after his marriage, is amiable and easy:

'*O la bella cosa de far niente!* This was my exclamation my dear Lord, on the 12th of last month, when I found myself, as I thought, at liberty to be a rambler, or an idler, or any thing I pleased: but my *mal di gola* took ample revenge for my abuse and contempt of it when I wrote to you, by confining me twelve days with a fever and quinsey; and I am now so cramped by the approaching session at Oxford, that I cannot make any long excursion. Pray present the enclosed, in my name, to Lady Althorpe. I hope that I shall in a short time be able to think of you, when I read these charming lines of Catullus.

'Torquatus volo Parvulus,
Matris e gremio suæ
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem,
Semi-hiante labello.

'What a beautiful picture! can Dominichino equal it? How weak are all arts in comparison of poetry and rhetoric! Instead, however, of *Torquatus*, I would read Spencerus. Do you not think that I have discovered the true use of the fine arts, namely, in relaxing the mind after toil? Man was born for *labour*; his configuration, his passions, his restlessness, all prove it; but labour would wear him out, and the purpose of it be defeated, if he had not intervals of *pleasure*; and un-

* A ruin of a castle on the banks of the Tivy.

less that pleasure be *innocent*, both he and society must suffer. Now what pleasures are more harmless, if they be nothing else, than those afforded by polite arts and polite literature? love was given us by the Author of our being as the reward of virtue, and the solace of care; but the base and sordid forms of *artificial* society in which we live, have encircled that heavenly rose with so many thorns, that the wealthy alone can gather it with prudence. On the other hand, mere pleasure, to which the idle are not justly entitled, soon satiates, and leaves a vacuity in the mind more unpleasant than actual pain. A just mixture, or interchange of labour and pleasures, appears alone conducive to such happiness as this life affords. Farewell, I have no room to add my useless name, and still more useless professions of friendship.' p. 206, 207.

Sir William Jones's politics were those of a decided Whig; and they make a considerable figure in some parts of his correspondence. It does not appear to us, however, that there are any passages of this description that deserve to be particularly noticed. Indeed, the deficiency of his philosophical genius is more apparent, in our apprehension, upon these subjects, than upon any other. His ideas upon the theory and abstract principles of government, appear to be very crude and superficial; and his zeal in the cause of liberty seems rather to have arisen from the warmth of his own benevolent heart, and from an habitual admiration of the classic republics of Greece and Italy, than from any profound study or just apprehension of the constitution of modern society. There is some prejudice, and a good deal of imprudence in some of his political effusions: but the purity of his motives, and the incorruptible and unaffected independence of his principles, entitle him to no vulgar station in the list of practical politicians. The following extract from a letter to Lord Spencer, written at the time when his appointment to India was in suspense, shews, in a striking manner, the extent of his honourable ambition, and the steadiness of his independent spirit:

'I cannot legally be appointed till January, or next month at soonest, because I am not a barrister of five years standing till that time: now many believe that they keep the place open for me till I am qualified. I certainly wish to have it, because I wish to have twenty thousand pounds in my pocket before I am eight-and-thirty years old, and then I might contribute in some little degree towards the service of my country in Parliament, as well as at the Bar, without selling my liberty to a patron, as too many of my profession are not ashamed of doing; and I might be a Speaker in the House of Commons in the full vigour and maturity of my age; whereas, in the slow career of Westminster-Hall, I should not perhaps, even with the best success, acquire the same independent station, till the age at which Cicero was killed But be assured, my dear lord, that if the minister be offended at the style in

which I have spoken, do speak, and will speak, of public affairs, and on that account should refuse to give me the judgeship, I shall not be at all mortified, having already a very decent competence, without a debt, or a care of any kind.' p. 168.

The same pleasing sentiments recur in a letter to Sir John M'Pherson, relating to the publication of the first volume of the Asiatic Transactions—

'Always excepting my own imperfect essays, I may venture to foretel, that the learned in Europe will not be disappointed by our first volume. But my great object at which I have long been labouring, is to give our country a complete digest of Hindu and Mussulman law. I have enabled myself, by excessive care, to read the oldest Sanscrit law books, with the help of a loose Persian paraphrase; and I have begun a translation of Menu into English; the best Arabian law-tract, I translated last year.—What I can possibly perform alone, I will by God's blessing perform; and I would write on the subject to the Minister, Chancellor, the Board of Controul, and the Directors, if I were not apprehensive that they who know the world, but do not fully know me, would think that I expected some advantage, either of fame or patronage, by purposing to be made the Justinian of India; whereas I am conscious of desiring no advantage, but the pleasure of doing general good. I shall consequently proceed in the work by my own strength, and will print my digest by degrees, at my own expence, giving copies of it where I know they will be useful. One point I have already attained; I made the pundit of our court read and correct a copy of Halhed's* book in the original Sanscrit, and I then obliged him to attest it as good law, so that he never now can give corrupt opinions, without certain detection.' p. 276, 277.

From the correspondence of Sir William Jones in India, we are not tempted to make many extracts. It relates chiefly to the business of his official situation, and to those researches of which he has himself given the results to the world, in his different publications on the philosophy and literature of the Asiatic nations. It is not, upon the whole, we think, exceedingly interesting, nor was it perhaps very necessary to make it public; but it shews the astonishing industry and unremitting activity of this exemplary scholar, and affords a pleasing evidence, both of the mild cheerfulness of his disposition, and of the harmony in which he lived with all the respectable members of the settlement. As a specimen of the happy and amiable temper of mind in which he continued to the end, we shall content ourselves with transcribing the last letter which the author of this volume received from him not many months before his death. The last paragraph is written with a great deal of unaffected gentleness and dignity.

* A translation by N. B. Halhed, Esq. of the code compiled by Pundits, by the direction of Mr. Hastings.

'A few days after I troubled you about the yacht, I felt a severe pang on hearing of your domestic misfortune; and I felt more for you than I should for most men, on so melancholy an occasion, because I well know the sensibility of your heart. The only topic of consolation happily presented itself to you: reason perhaps might convince us, that the death of a created being never happens without the will of the Creator, who governs this world by a special interposition of his providential care;—but as this is a truth which revelation expressly teaches us, our only true comfort in affliction must be derived from Christian philosophy, which is so far from encouraging us to stifle our natural feelings, that even the divine author of it wept on the death of a friend. This doctrine, though superfluous to you, is always present to my mind; and I shall have occasion in a few years, by the course of nature, to press it on the mind of Lady Jones, the great age of whose mother is one of my reasons for hoping most anxiously that nothing may prevent her returning to England this season. * * * * I will follow her as soon as I can, possibly at the beginning of 1795, but probably not till the season after that; for although I shall have more than enough to supply all the wants of a man, who would rather have been Cincinnatus with his plough, than Lucullus with all his wealth, yet I wish to complete the system of Indian laws while I remain in India, because I wish to perform whatever I promise with the least possible imperfection; and in so difficult a work doubts might arise which the pundits alone could remove. You continue, I hope, to find the gardens healthy; nothing can be more pleasant than the house in which we live: but it might justly be called the temple of the winds, especially as it has an octagonal form, like that erected at Athens to those boisterous divinities. I cannot get rid of the rheumatism which their keen breath has given me, and submit with reluctance to the necessity of wrapping myself in shawls and flannel. We continue to be charmed with the perspicuity, moderation, and eloquence of Filangieri.

'Of European politics I think as little as possible, not because they do not interest my heart, but because they give me too much pain. I have 'good will towards men, and wish peace on earth.' but I see chiefly under the sun, the two classes of men whom Solomon describes, the oppressor and the oppressed. I have no fear in England of open despotism, nor of anarchy. I shall cultivate my fields and gardens, and think as little as possible of monarchs or oligarchs.' p. 354—55—56.

We add the sincere and affectionate reflections annexed by the noble biographer to the letter we have now copied.

'It would not be easy to give expression to the feelings excited by the perusal of this letter, nine years after the date of it. In recalling the memory of domestic misfortunes, which time had nearly obliterated, it revives with new force the recollection of that friend, whose sympathy endeavoured to sooth the sorrows of a father for the loss of his children. The transition by Sir William Jones to the circumstances of his own situation is natural, and the conjugal bosom may perhaps sympathise

with a fond husband, anticipating the affliction of the wife of his affection, and his own efforts to console her. That wife however still survives to lament her irreparable loss in the death of Sir William Jones himself and has had for some years the happiness to console, by the tenderest assiduities, the increasing infirmities of an aged mother.' p. 356.

Lord Teignmouth, in several parts of his work, has manifested a laudable, but apparently a very unnecessary, anxiety to prove, that Sir William Jones was a sincere believer in the pure doctrines of Christianity. We are not aware that his orthodoxy was ever called in question, and do not perceive, indeed, how it could easily have been so in the face of his own express and repeated declarations to the contrary, in so many parts of his writings. The most distinct, perhaps, is that which occurs in a discourse addressed to the Asiatic Society in 1791.

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject: But I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the *Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected, within the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance, in form or style, to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine compositions, and consequently inspired. But, if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others." p. 365, 366.

To those and to other public testimonies of Sir William Jones's pious acquiescence in the pure faith of his country, Lord Teignmouth has now added the evidence of several prayers and devout reflections, found among his private manuscripts after his death.

We should have great pleasure in laying before our readers the whole of the eloquent and affectionate representation which Lord Teignmouth has given, in the concluding pages of these memoirs of the character of his departed friend. Our limits, however, will not admit of more than the following extracts.

'In the short space of forty-seven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences, and languages, which has seldom been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and pro-

found, and entitled him to a high rank in the first class of scholars, while, as a philologist, he could boast an universality in which he had no rival. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on Oriental subjects display a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who had preceded him in these tracts of literature. The language of Constantinople was also familiar to him; and of the Chinese characters and tongue, he had learned enough to enable him to translate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, he was thoroughly conversant, and had perused the most admired writers in those languages. I might extend the list by specifying other dialects which he understood, but which he had less perfectly studied.'

'By his knowledge of the Sanscrit and Arabic, he was eminently qualified to promote the administration of justice in the Supreme Court, by detecting misrepresentations of the Hindu or Mahommedan laws, and by correcting impositions in the form of administering oaths to the followers of Brahma and Mahommed. If no other benefit had resulted from his study of these languages, than the compilation of the Digest, and the translation of Menu, and of two Mahommedan law tracts, this application of his talents to promote objects of the first importance to India and Europe, would have entitled him to the acknowledgements of both countries. Of his studies in general it may be observed, that the end which he always had in view, was practical utility; that knowledge was not accumulated by him as a source of mere intellectual recreation, or to gratify an idle curiosity, or for the idler purpose of ostentatiously displaying his acquisitions. To render himself useful to his country and mankind; and to promote the prosperity of both, were the primary and permanent motives of his indefatigable exertions in acquiring knowledge.

'The inflexible integrity with which he discharged the solemn duty of this station, will long be remembered in Calcutta, both by Europeans and natives. So cautious was he to guard the independence of his character from any possibility of violation or imputation, that no solicitation could prevail upon him, to use his personal influence with the members of administration in India, to advance the private interests of friends whom he esteemed, and which he would have been happy to promote. He knew the dignity, and felt the importance of his office; and convinced that none could afford him more ample scope for exerting his talents to the benefit of mankind, his ambition never extended beyond it, No circumstance occasioned his death to be more lamented by the public, than the loss of his abilities as judge, of which they had had the experience of eleven years.'

Of his private and social virtues it still remains to speak; and I could with pleasure expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity and probity, as well as his benevolence, which every living creature participated.

'Could the figure, (I quote with pleasure his own words) instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fish, be ascertained, either, on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnæus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction, or more exquisite delight: but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird, and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage, and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful: nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Ferdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit,

Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain,
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

'This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the *cocila*, whose wild native woodnotes announce the approach of spring, to be caught in my garden, for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestic and engaging *mayana*, which "bids us good-morrow" at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young *manis* or *pangolin* was brought to me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them.'

'His intercourse with the Indian natives of character and abilities was extensive: he liberally rewarded those by whom he was served and assisted, and his dependants were treated by him as friends. Under this denomination he has frequently mentioned in his works the name of Bahman, a native of Yezd, and follower of the doctrines of Zoroaster, whom he retained in his pay, and whose death he often adverted to with regret. Nor can I resist the impulse which I feel, to repeat an anecdote of what occurred after his demise: the pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at a public *durbar*, a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed.' p. 400.

The Appendix contains the originals of the Latin letters, of which Lord Teignmouth has given a translation in the text, and which appear to be written with great elegance and purity;—the plan, and some very inconsiderable fragments of the epic poem which we formerly mentioned as having occupied the attention of Sir William Jones in 1770, and of which we are inclined to think the abandonment more judicious than the undertaking;—a prefatory discourse to his projected History of the Turks, written in

a very pleasing and lively style, but rather diffuse and feeble for the introduction to a philosophical history;—and finally, a short collection of occasional poems, which might have been permitted, without injury to the author's reputation, to have remained in his portfolio. We are tempted, however, as a curiosity, to transcribe the following translation of an ode of Jami, which, in the form, rhime, and measure, is an exact pattern of the original Persian.

How sweet the gale of morning breathes! Sweet news of my *delight* he brings;.
News, that the rose will soon approach the tuneful bird of *night*, he brings.
Soon will a thousand parted souls be led, his captives, through the sky,
Since tidings, which in every heart must ardent flames *excite*, he brings.
Late near my chamber's flowing robe he pass'd, and kiss'd the fragrant hem;
Thence, odour to the rose bud's veil, and jasmine's mantle *white*, he brings.
Painful is absence, and that pain to some base rival oft is owed;
Thou know'st dear maid! when to thine ear false tales, contriv'd in *spite*, he brings.
Why should I trace love's mazy path, since destiny my bliss forbids?
Black destiny! my lot is woe, to me no ray of *light* he brings.
In vain, a friend his mind disturbs, in vain a childish trouble gives,
When sage physician to the couch of heartsick love lorn *wight*, he brings.
A roving stranger in thy town no guidance can sad JAMI find,
'Till this his name, and rambling lay to thine all piercing *sight* he brings.

p. 519.

We now take our leave of this publication with sentiments of the utmost veneration for the virtuous and learned person whose history it contains, and with feelings of no common gratitude to his noble biographer. The rank to which he belongs affords many temptations to idleness, and has sometimes been considered as an apology for some degree of licentiousness. There is more than usual merit, therefore, in every instance which it presents either of literary activity, or of zeal for morality and religion; and as examples and lessons of this kind come with most effect from those whose station enables them to influence a larger circle of observers, Lord Teignmouth must be held to have deserved well of society, by the publication of a work so friendly to the interests of learning and of virtue. Independently of these considerations, however, this book is entitled to praise. The elegance of the composition, and the zeal and knowledge in literature which it displays, would do credit to the most practised author; while the uniform candour and liberality of the sentiments it contains, lay claim to a far higher commendation.

ART. VII. *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, and the adjoining Countries, from the latter part of the Reign of Edward II. to the Coronation of Henry IV.* Newly Translated from the best French Editions, with Variations and Additions from many celebrated Manuscripts, by Thomas Johnes. 4to. pp. 835. At the Hafod Press. By James Henderson.

IT has long been, and we fear will long remain a reproach to the literary character of Britain, that so very little has been done for the preservation of her early historians. An uniform edition of our chronicles corrected from the best manuscripts, and elucidated by suitable notes and references, might surely be expected from our colleges; and a wealthy and patriotic public would encourage and reward the undertaking. Since, however, it is the fate of so many of our historians to slumber in manuscript and black letter, we ought to view, with indulgent gratitude, the exertions of an individual who has drawn from obscurity the most fascinating of this venerable band. Whoever has taken up the chronicle of Froissart, must have been dull indeed if he did not find himself transported back to the days of Cressy and Poitiers. In truth, his history has less the air of a narrative than of a dramatic representation. The figures live and move before us; we not only know what they did, but learn the mode and process of the action, and the very words with which it was accompanied. This sort of colloquial history is of all others the most interesting. The simple fact, that a great battle was won or lost, makes little impression on our mind, as it occurs in the dry pages of an annalist, while our imagination and attention are alike excited by the detailed description of a much more trifling event. In Froissart, we hear the gallant knights, of whom he wrote, arrange the terms of combat and the manner of the onset; we hear their soldiers cry their war-cries; we see them strike their horses with the spur; and the liveliness of the narration hurries us along with them into the whirlwind of battle. We have no hesitation to say, that a skirmish before a petty fortress, thus told, interests us more than the general information that twenty thousand Frenchmen bled on the field of Cressy. This must ever be the case, while we prefer a knowledge of mankind to a mere acquaintance with their actions; and so long also must we account Froissart the most entertaining, and perhaps the most valuable historian of the middle ages. Till now, his chronicles have only existed in three black letter editions printed at Paris, all we believe very rare; in that which was published by Denys Sauvage about 1560, and reprinted in 1574; and finally, in an English

translation by Bourchier Lord Berners, which we believe sells for about twenty guineas, and is hardly ever to be met with. Under these circumstances, we are bound to receive with gratitude every attempt to give more general access to the treasures of Froissart, especially as the size of his chronicles prohibits the idea of an edition undertaken with the usual views of profit. Mr. Johnes, the present translator, we understand to be a gentleman of fortune, whose hours of leisure and retirement are dedicated to literary research, and who sends the present volume forth from his private press at Hafod. Like his predecessor Lord Berners, he is probably pricked on to his undertaking 'by the love and honour which he bears to our most puissant sovereign, and to do pleasure to his subjects both nobles and commons,' and, like that good baron, he 'prays them that shall default find, to consyder the greatness of the historie and his good will that asks nothing else of them for his great labour, but of their curtesye to amende where nede shall be, and yet for their so doing prays to God finally to send them the bliss of heaven.' If, therefore, in the course of our present investigation, we find it necessary to descend into the lists with so gentle a knight, he may rest assured that the arms we employ shall only be those of courtesy.

The present translation of Froissart will consist, when finished, of four large quarto volumes. The best authorities have been resorted to for various readings, and large additions are in many places made from manuscripts in the translator's library.

It appears to us an omission of some consequence, that nothing is told the English reader of the history of Froissart himself, the mode which he took to acquire the knowledge of the events he narrates, the distribution of his history into books, and the arrangement of his chronology. We are the more disappointed in this respect, because the translator could be no stranger to three Memoires on these subjects published in the Transactions of the Academie Royale, vol. 10, 13, 14. by Mons. de la Curne de Ste. Palaye. We are tempted in some degree to supply this defect, by giving, chiefly from these authorities, a short sketch of the life and character of this venerable historian.

Jean Froissart, priest, canon and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, was born at Valenciennes about 1337. He was the son, as is conjectured from a passage in his poems, of Thomas Froissart a herald painter, no inconsiderable profession in those days, and which required a good deal of such knowledge as was then in fashion. The youth of Froissart, from 12 years upwards, as in his poems he has frequently informed us, was spent in every species of elegant indulgence. 'Well I

loved,' says he 'to see danses and carolling, well to hear minstrelsy and tales of glee, well to attach myself to those who loved hounds and hawks, well to toy with my fair companions at school, and methought I had the art well to win their grace.' In a similar allusion to this joyous period, he gives the following account of the luxuries in which he delighted to revel. 'My ears quickened at the sound of uncorking the wine flask, for I took great pleasure in drinking, and in fair array, and in delicate and fresh cates. I love to see (as is reason) the early violets and the white and red roses, and also chambers fairly lighted; justs, danses and late vigils, and fair beds for refreshment; and for my better repose, a night draught of claret or Rochelle wine mingled with spice.' This merry mode of life promised but a slender progress in divinity. Accordingly Froissart in his history (meaning, we believe, Judas Machabæus), calls Nebuchadnezzar* 'the prince and leader of God's chivalry;' and tells us without comment on their ignorance, that the western chivalry who attended the Duke of Bourbon upon his African expedition, justified their invasion of the Moors, because these paynin Saracens had put to death the Saviour of the world. But the Mahometans, better instructed, only laughed at the charge, which they transferred to the Jews. In the midst of his dissipation, however, Froissart early discovered the ardent and inquisitive spirit to which we owe so much; and even at the age of twenty, at the command of his 'dear Lord and Master Sir Robert of Namur, Lord of Beaufort,' he began to write the history of the French wars. The period from 1326 to 1356, was chiefly filled up from the chronicles of Jean le Bel, canon of Liege, a confidant of John of Hainault, and celebrated by Froissart for his diligence and accuracy. It is reasonable to believe, that this work was interrupted during a journey to England, in the train of Phillippa of Hainault, the heroic wife of Edward III, and mother of the Black Prince. Froissart was for three or four years secretary or clerk of her chamber; a situation which he would probably have retained, but for an ill-fated and deep-rooted passion for a lady of Flanders, which induced him to return to that country; a circumstance equally favourable to the history of the Continent, and unfortunate for that of Britain. During his residence in England, he visited our Scotish mountains, which he traversed on a palfrey carrying his own portmanteau, and attended only by a greyhound.

* This, however, may be a mistake, for any thing we know, of the worshipful Lord Berners. We are uncertain if it occurs in Everard's edition of Froissart.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of his equipment and retinue, his character of a poet and historian introduced him to the court of David II, and to the hardly less honourable distinction of fifteen days abode at the castle of Dalkeith with William Earl of Douglas, where he learned personally to know that race of heroes whose deeds he has repeatedly celebrated. After this he attended the Black Prince, then bound on his Spanish expedition against Henry the Bastard; in which he would not, however, permit Froissart to accompany him, but sent him back to attend his mother Queen Philippa.

In the year 1368, Froissart was present at the splendid nuptials of Lionel Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. with Jolande of Milan. In his return he attended Lionel at the court of the Duke of Savoy, who gave our historian a splendid garment worth twenty florins. He boasts in his poems of similar favours from the king of Cyprus, and of having seen an emperor at the papal court.* While thus travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle, his train was gradually augmented by an attendant and hackney. The death of Philippa removed Froissart's desire to return to England; but he still kept up a friendly intercourse with that court, and had prepared to send to King Edward a splendid copy of his Chronicle, when it was arrested by the Duke of Anjou as destined to the enemy of France. At this time he had become curate of Lestines in the diocese of Liege, where he says that the vintners had 500 francs of his money during a very short time. It may be conjectured from this circumstance, that *they* were more obliged to his attention than any of his other parishioners. He was probably soon convinced that it was better to drink at free cost; for, previous to 1384, he became an attendant on the court of the Duke of Brabant, whom he assisted in composing a sort of poetical romance, called Meliador, or the Knight of the Golden Sun; and after the death of that prince he attached himself to the Earl of Blois, who engaged him to resume his historical labours. Accordingly, he seems now to have commenced the second volume of his Chronicle, which was finished about 1388, three years after the peace betwixt the Duke of Burgundy and the Citizens of Ghent, which is one of the last events recorded in that performance. About the same year, this active and inquisitive historian made his celebrated visit to Gaston Earl of Foix, travelling in company with a gallant knight of that court called Espaing de Lyon. He has narrated the history of this journey with great *naiveté* and liveliness. The intestine wars of France had raged in

* Perhaps the Grecian Emperor Paleologus, who visited Rome in 1369 to crave assistance against Mahomet.

every corner of the territories they were to traverse: scarce a stream, a hill, or a pass, but had been the distinguished scene of obstinate and bloody conflict. Froissart's curiosity was every moment awakened by some memorial of deeds of chivalry; and his courteous and communicative companion readily detailed events with which he was well acquainted, and many of which he had witnessed. In consideration of these lively narratives, the good-natured reader will easily pardon the minute information, that the two travellers lodged and took their ease at the sign of the star, and that they were visited by the Chastellan of Malvoisin, who brought with him four flaggons of the best wine our historian ever drank in his life. At length they arrived at the Earl of Foix's court of Ortez, where Froissart was courteously received and admitted as a member of his household: 'I know you well,' said the earl, 'although we have never seen each other.' This courteous prince not only deigned to accept a copy of the Romance of Meliador, containing the songs, ballads, roundeaux and virelays compiled and made by the gentle Duke of Brabant in his time, but he indulged Froissart in reading his compositions aloud: 'and every night after supper I read thereon to him, *and while I read there was none durst speak any word*, because he would that I should be well understood, wherein he took great solace.' The great virtue and nobleness of the Earl of Foix, the concourse of valiant chivalry from every scene of glory who crowded his court, the long discourses of arms and amours amongst the noble dames, knights, pages and damsels, the tidings which daily arrived from every seat of war, and perhaps the patient audience afforded by the earl to our historian's recitations, induced him to prefer Ortez to every court he had seen, whether of king, duke, earl or great ladye. In truth the daily orisons and almsgiving of that worthy prince, his bounty in gifts to heralds and minstrels, his love of hounds, hawks and hunting, his easy and amorous conversation, his delight in arms, chivalry and lady's love, were far more than enough, in Froissart's estimation, to counterbalance the count's treacherous murder of his cousin, and his cutting with his own hands the throat of his only son who had most unreasonably refused to eat his dinner.*

* Froissart expresses this last incident very delicately: 'And so in great displeasure he thrust his hand to his son's throat; and the point of the knife a little entered into his throat, into a certain vein; and the earl said, "Ah, traitor, why doest not thou eat thy meat?" and therewith the earl departed, without any more doing or saying, and

After a long sojourn at the court of Ortez he returned to Flanders by the route of Avignon. We learn from a poem referred to by Mons. de Ste Palaye, that on this occasion the historian, always in quest of adventures, met a personal one with which he could have dispensed, being robbed of all the ready money which his travels had left him. We may hope this was no great sum; for besides the expence of transcribing his history, for which he anticipates his claim on the gratitude of posterity, he had spent above 2000 francs among the tavern-keepers of Lestines, as well as in his frequent journies, in which he takes care to tell us he was always handsomely dressed and well mounted, and above all made admirable cheer. After this sad event, we find Froissart following the annunciation of every feast, bridal, or tournament from Avignon to Paris, from Paris to Hainault, to Holland, to Picardie, to Languedoc, to Valenciennes, &c. &c. &c. About the year 1390, having collected what appeared to him sufficient materials, he settled in Flanders, and recommenced his history. Here, however, an interruption occurred highly evincing his zealous and impartial search after truth. He bethought him, that in narrating the wars of Spain upon the sole authority of the Spanish and Gascon warriors whom he had seen at Ortez, he could only give the statement of the one party, contrary to his constant practice and indispensable duty. It happened that a Portuguese nobleman had just arrived in Zealand. Froissart instantly took shipping, joined him at Middleburg, insinuated himself into the acquaintance of the stranger with an art that never failed him, and obtained from him a full account of the affairs of Portugal. After this interview, he is believed to have again visited Rome, perhaps in search of preferment; for we find him shortly afterwards designing himself canon and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, and expectant canon of Lisle. This last dignity he never attained.

In 1395, Froissart revisited England; and at the shrine of Canterbury he saw Richard II. grandson of his early patroness Philippa of Hainault. Edmond of York, brother to the Black Prince, received our historian graciously; and, patronized by that Prince, and by Thomas Percy, he was introduced to the royal presence, which he thus describes: 'I have delight to write this matter at length, to inform you of the truth; for I

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went into his own chamber. The child was abashed, and afraid of the comyng of his father, and also was feeble for fasting; *and the point of the knife a little entered into a vein of his throat*; so he fell down suddenly and died.' Vol. II. Berners' Froissart, cap. XXVI.

that am author of this history, was present in all these matters; and the valiant knight, Sir Richard Surry, shewed me every thing. And so it was, that, on the Sunday following, all such as had been there were departed, and all their counsellors except the Duke of York, who abode still about the king; and the Lord Thomas Percy and Sir Richard Surry shewed my business to the king. Then the king desired to see my book that I had brought for him. So he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready upon his bed. When the king opened it, it pleased him well; for it was fairly illuminated, and written and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought. Then the king demanded of me whereof it treated; and I shewed him how it treated of matters of love; whereof the king was glad, and looked in it, and read it in many places for he could speak and read French very well. And he took it to a knight of his chamber, named Sir Richard Credon, to bear it to his secret chamber.' Besides the honourable reception of Froissart in England, he was much delighted with the society of a certain squire who had been long prisoner in Ireland, through whom he became acquainted with the manners of the natives of that country, and with the history of Richard's expedition against them, all which information he has inserted in the 4th volume of his Chronicle.

After a residence of three months, Froissart left England for ever, and, at his departure, received from the king a silver goblet containing a hundred nobles. He finally settled at his benefice of Chimay, and employed as usual the hours of his leisure in arranging and detailing the information collected in his travels. Four years brought him to 1399, when the melancholy fate of his benefactor Richard II. became the subject of his latest labours. With the credulity of his age, he tells us of a prophecy in the book of Brut presaging this event, and of a favourite and cherished greyhound who left the dethroned monarch to fawn on his successor Bolingbroke. But he feelingly enumerates the different benefits he had received from Richard, and from his family; 'wherefore,' says the grateful historian, 'I am bound to write of his death with much sorrow, and to pray to God for his soul.' It is uncertain how long Froissart survived the death of Richard, and the conclusion of his Chronicle; he was then about sixty years old, and died shortly after at Chimay, according to an entry in the obituary of the Chapter.

From this short sketch, by which we have endeavoured, in some measure, to supply a great omission in Mr. Johnes's translation, our readers may gather some idea of the character of Froissart and his writings. He was no sequestered monk, who from

the depth of his cloister casts a timid and inexperienced eye upon the transactions of mankind; still less could he contract that spirit of prejudice and interested superstition which too often defaces the writings of an ascetic. Froissart, though a churchman, was, in every sense, a man of the world, but actuated by a spirit of ardent investigation, and breathing in every page the high spirit of chivalry imbibed in the courts and castles where he loved to dwell. He is superstitious according to the manner of his age, but it is the superstition of an ignorant soldier, who tells a wonderful story merely because he believes it true, or of a poet who loves the marvellous that excites his imagination, and not that of a monk whose interest either warps his own judgement or induces him to practice on the credulity of others. When he degenerates therefore, into the marvellous, it is usually in some such romantic tale as that of the spirit who so long served the Lord of Gorasse, and brought him news of all that passed in foreign kingdoms, or of the wonderful bear which was hunted and slain by Sir Peter of Berne, after which he became a noctambulist, and by his midnight wanderings and gambols terrified his wife into a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, from which she declined to return to so unruly a bedfellow. But while we are sometimes amused with these popular tales of terror, we are delivered from the dull and deliberate legends of saints and miracles with which the pages of the monkish historians are so unmercifully garnished. The curate of Lestines, though a good Catholic, by no means piqued himself upon zeal for the church, that *ignis fatuus* which leads astray his contemporaries. Indeed, from the tenor of his life we think he may be safely trusted, when he asserts that he was prompted to his laborious task by the wish to record the deeds of chivalry which he loved, and to stigmatize with eternal shame the actions of the recreant or dishonourable. He also had this very great advantage over contemporary historians, that excepting the assistance derived from the Chronicle of Jean le Bel in compiling his first volume, his materials were drawn from original sources. Not only the inferior knights and squires, but even the petty potentates at whose courts he resided, communicated freely to him their actions and motives, and, by hearing both sides, and comparing them together he was usually able to discover the truth, or at least to state to his readers in what the best authorities differed. As his chronicles were regularly written out, and presented to his patrons during the intervals of his travels, he afforded to his contemporaries a sure pledge of his veracity. For surely he would have been but ill advised, who during the fourteenth century, would have forged a false tale upon the pretended averment of a feudal prince or baron who was yet alive to avenge the insult while he corrected the error. Neither was

our historian remiss in examining the written documents of the time. He has preserved several leagues, letters, &c. and refers to many others; and the heralds to whom the transactions of diplomacy were then usually committed, underwent many a close examination from our indefatigable traveller. Above all, we must allow Froissart the praise of the most unblemished impartiality, in spite of the peevish impeachment of Bodin, Brantome, and most of the French writers. It is true, it would have been difficult to narrate the victories of Cressy and Poitiers, without wounding the national vanity of France; but if Froissart was patronized by Queen Philippa, he was also admitted a member of the household of King John of France: if he was the familiar friend of Percy he had been the guest of Douglas; if he admired the Black Prince, he admired equally Bertrand du Guesclin; and if a distinction can be made, his natural generosity seems rather to have inclined towards the side of the French chivalry, who, by individual valour, and the most generous self-devotion, struggled to support, in an overwhelming tempest, the throne of their monarchs and the independence of their country. The transactions in his own country were comparatively too insignificant to bias his integrity, though he always speaks with warmth and pride of the race and arms of Hainault. Lastly, let it be remembered, that if a part of his chronicle was composed at the request of the Count of Namur, the ally of England, he was induced to continue it by the Earl of Blois, the steady friend of France. In the latter case, he thus anticipates and repels the accusation of being swayed by the prejudices of his patron. 'Let it not be said that I have been corrupted by the favours of Guy Count of Blois, who caused me write this work, and has paid me for it liberally----Nay, truly! I will not speak save the downright truth, without colour or favour; and it is the will also of the gentle Prince and Earl that I should record only the very fact.'

It remains to notice the defective points in this celebrated work. Formed upon a variety of detached conversations, the Chronicle contains a mass of information, more or less accurate, concerning almost every country in Europe, and upon every species of transaction civil and military, from the attack and defence of a fortress to the ordering of a festive banquet. But it must be owned that this information is strangely and confusedly piled together; and it oftener happens to the man who has recourse to Froissart's authority, that he lights unexpectedly upon something curious and valuable which he was not looking for, than that he is able to find the information which he wished to obtain. Froissart wrote with the haste of a traveller, and with the ardent impetuosity of a mind too much engrossed with the immediate narrative, to think of

what had gone before, or of what was to follow after. We have, says Monsieur de Ste Palaye, lively descriptions of tumultuous meetings of warriors, of all ages, kindreds and languages: the riotous banquet is protracted late into the night; while each, in emulation of his companions, details what he has seen, heard or acted; and the fatigued traveller throws the lively but confused dialogue upon paper ere he retires to rest. It is also necessary to observe, that the events are often inserted not in the order in which they took place, but in that in which they came to Froissart's knowledge, to the utter confusion of all chronology. Nay, sometimes when an event has been already told in its regular order, as the battle of Aljubarotta in Spain, the historian, having afterwards acquired new lights on the subject from a different quarter, is not at the pains to new-model the whole narration, but thrusts his second edition into the middle of whatever he was writing when he heard it, and leaves the gentle reader to compare and reconcile the accounts as he best may. In this respect, his splendid work may be likened to a piece of ancient tapestry full of knights, ladies, castles, tilts, tournaments, battles and pageants, but presenting to the eye no regular or uniform picture. It must be also admitted, that if Froissart was unfettered by the prejudices and superstition of the cloister, he was strongly imbued with the romantic spirit peculiar to his age. Hence, his credulity must have frequently been imposed on by those who were willing to satisfy with a marvellous tale the wandering priest's eager thirst after information; and hence too, himself a poet, we may be permitted to suppose him partial to that edition of a story which produced the highest effect, and rather unwilling too narrowly to question the precise truth of the chivalrous narrations which he esteemed so delicious. There is much room to suspect that the story of the self-devoted burghers of Calais received its higher and more romantic colouring from Froissart (See p. 267, Note); and our accurate countryman, Lord Hailes, has proved that Froissart erred in placing Queen Philippa at the head of the English army at the battle of Nevil's-cross, in which David II. of Scotland was routed and made prisoner (p. 347, Note). We may add to his Lordship's argument, that Laurence Minot, a court-poet of the day, would not have omitted so favourable a subject of panygeric in his poem on that engagement.

It remains to examine the merits of the present translation, which will perhaps be best accomplished by pointing out in what it excels or falls short of that which was executed by Lord Berners. In one respect, the translators are in a similar situation, being both, we believe, soldiers, and both above that rank of fortune which is usually the station of literary adventurers. John

Bourchier, lord of Berners, was chancellor of the exchequer, and governor of Calais during the reign of Henry VIII. and had the singular good fortune to retain the precarious favour of his jealous master, although he was at once a man of talents, and descended from the Plantagenets. He died at Calais about 1532. His translation of Froissart was executed at the command of Henry himself, and may be supposed to mark a dawning taste for the English language at the court of that monarch. In the reign of Henry VII. the translation of French romances had just commenced. Lord Berners's version of Froissart was published by Pynson in 1523. It is written in the pure and nervous English of that early period, and deserves to be carefully consulted by the philologist. In one respect, the old baron must be allowed to possess an infinite advantage over Mr. Johnes. He lived when the ideas of chivalry yet existed, and when its appropriate language was yet spoken among his readers; so that he was enabled to translate the conversation of Froissart's knights and nobles by the corresponding expressions in English which he, himself a knight and noble, daily used and heard at the court of Henry. Mr. Johnes, on the other hand, has undertaken the very difficult and hazardous task of translating the French expressions of chivalry into what is, with respect to the ordinary communications of life, a dialect absolutely extinct: for it must be obvious, that Froissart can no more be rendered with truth and effect into modern English, than Lord Berners could be introduced in the present drawing-room in his buff-coat, slashed sleeves, and trunk hose. In describing the war-cry of 'A Douglas, a Douglas! the translator renders it 'Douglas *for ever!*' by which the *ensenzie* of a feudal chieftain is degraded into the shout of a mob. We fear also that Mr. Johnes is deficient in a very important part of Froissart's language, that which relates to heraldry. The arms of Douglas are described (p. 32,) as 'argent on a chef argent,' which it is impossible to blazon. In p. 201, they are rightly given, 'Argent a chief azure;' but he has omitted 'three stars gules on the chief,' as mentioned by Froissart, edit. 1559, p. 95.

We proceed to compare the translations in the following interesting passage, reducing the orthography of Lord Berners, which is extremely vague, to nearly the modern standard. The subject is the battle of Cressy; and the historian has already described, in the most lively colours, the disorder in which the French multitude came pouring on the small, but compact and well-ordered host of England.

'When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and (he) said to his marshalls, "Make the Genoese go on before, and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Dennis."

There were of the Genoese cross-bows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going a-foot that day, a six leagues, armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables, "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms; we have more need of rest." These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said, "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also, the same season, there fell a great rain and an eclipse, with a terrible thunder; and before the rain, there came flying over the battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmens' eyen, and on the Englishmens' back. When the Genoese were assembled together, and began to approach, they made a great leape and cry, to abash the Englishmen; but they stood still, and stirred not for all that. Then the Genoese again the second time made another leape and a fell cry, and stepped forward a little; and the Englishmen removed not one foot. Thirdly again, they leaped and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace, and lette fly their arrows so wholly and thick that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads and arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows, and did cut their strings, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flee away, he said, "slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men-at-arms dash in among them, and killed a great number of them, and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw the thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men at arms and into their horses; and many fell horse and men among the Genoese; and when they were down, they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. —And also, among the Englishmen, there were certain rascals that went on foot with great knives, and they went in among the men-at-arms, and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires, whereof the King of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

This remarkable passage is thus rendered by Mr. Johnes.

'You must know, that these kings, dukes, earls, barons and lords of France did not advance in any regular order, but one after the other, or any way most pleasing to themselves. As soon as the king of France came in sight of the English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out to his marshals, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Dennis."

'There were about fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; but they were quite fatigued, having marched on foot that day six leagues, completely armed, and with their cross-bows.

'They told the constable, they were not in a fit condition to do any great things that day in battle. The earl of Alençon, hearing this, said, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off, when there is any need for them."

'During this time, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder and a very terrible eclipse of the sun; and before this rain a great flight of crows hovered in the air over all those battalions, making a loud noise. Shortly afterwards it cleared up, and the sun shone very bright; but the Frenchmen had it in their faces, and the English in their backs.

'When the Genoese were somewhat in order, and approached the English, they set up a loud shout, in order to frighten them; but they remained quite still, and did not seem to attend to it. They then set up a second shout, and advanced a little forward; but the English never moved.—They hooted a third time, advancing with their cross-bows presented, and began to shoot. The English archers then advanced one step forward, and shot their arrows with such force and quickness, that it seemed as if it snowed.

'When the Genoese felt these arrows, which pierced their arms, heads, and through their armour, some of them cut the strings of their cross-bows, others flung them on the ground, and all turned about, and retreated, quite discomfited. The French had a large body of men at arms on horseback, richly dressed, to support the Genoese.

"The king of France, seeing them thus fall back, cried out, "Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road, without any reason." You would then have seen the above mentioned men at arms lay about them, killing all they could of these runaways.

'The English continued shooting as vigorously and quickly as before; some of their arrows fell among the horsemen, who were sumptuously equipped, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, so that they were in such confusion they could never rally again. In the English army there were some Cornish and Welshmen on foot, who had armed themselves with large knives: these, advancing through the ranks of the men at arms and archers, who made way for them, came upon the French when they were in this danger, and, falling upon earls, barons, knights and squires, slew many, at which the king of England was afterwards much exasperated.' p. 324, 325.

Upon the mere point of style in this passage, we are of opinion that the ancient translator has considerably the advantage. In describing the shouts with which the Genoese endeavoured to sustain their own dubious courage, and appal their enemies, contrasted with the obstinate and ominous silence of the English, the words of Lord Berners are not only better chosen, but the sentences are better arranged, and convey a more lively picture to the eye.—On the other hand, the modern translation is more accurate,

mentioning the original purpose of the body of men-at-arms* by whom the Genoese were to have been supported, but who in the end trampled them down, and the country of the light infantry who were mingled among the English archers and cavalry.†

We give another example of the language of the two translations, in the celebrated answer of Edward. 'They with the prince sent a messenger to the kynge, who was on a little wind-mill-hill: then the knight said to the king, "Sir, the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of *Camfort*, Sir Reynold Cobham, and other such as be about the prince your son, are fiercely fought withal; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the king said—"Is my son dead or hurt, or on the earth felled?" "No, Sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him, and to those that sent you hither, and say to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth so long as my son is alive; and also say to them, that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased, I will this *journee* be his, and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him."

Mr. Johnes's version runs thus—

'The first division, seeing the danger they were in, sent a knight‡ in great haste to the king of England, who was posted upon an eminence, near a windmill. On the knight's arrival, he said, "Sir, the earl of Warwick, the lord Stafford, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the others who are about your son are vigorously attacked by the French; and they intreat that you would come to their assistance with your battalion, for, if their numbers should increase, they fear he will have too much to do."

'The king replied:—"Is my son dead, unhorsed, or so badly wounded, that he cannot support himself?" "Nothing of the sort, thank God," rejoined the knight, "but he is in so hot an engagement, that he has great need of your help." The king answered, "Now, sir Thomas, return back to those that sent you, and tell them from me, not to send again for me this day, or expect that I shall come, let what

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* Denis Sauvage's edition bears that this body of cavalry was English; but we presume Mr. Johnes followed a better authority. The Black Prince's men-at-arms were in the rear of the archers.

† Berners calls them 'rascals,' Mr. Johnes 'Cornish and Welchmen.' Froissart seems to give them both characters, '*pillars et bidaux, Gallois et Cornuaillois.*' The slaughter must have been greatly increased by these irregular troops; for the dismounted knights were usually unable to rise, from the weight of their armour.

‡ Sir Thomas Norwich.—MSS.

will happen, as long as my son has life; and say, that I command them to let the boy win his spurs; for I am determined, if it please God, that all the glory and honour of this day shall be given to him, and to those into whose care I have entrusted him." p. 327.

In this passage also, we may remark a sort of flatness in the modern version. For example, '*so hot an engagement*' does not convey quite the idea of 'so hardly matched,' nor does it well express '*il est en dur parti d'armes*,' which implies personal conflict as well as presence in a battle. Upon the whole, there is a sort of amplification, perhaps unavoidable in modern language, which sounds tamer and less like the tone of chivalry than that employed by Lord Berners. In short, the Chronicle is as it were neatly bound in calf extra; nay the leaves, back and edges are gilt; but it wants the massy garniture of antique clasps, gilt knops, and silver roses, which add to the dignity of Lord Berners's version.

Although the style of Mr. Johnes is unquestionable inferior to Lord Berners, and although it is occasionally degraded by such quaint expressions as *sheering off, making off, shewing their heels*, and the like, we cannot but bestow high commendation on the fidelity and attention with which the task of translation has been executed. In a historical point of view, there can be no comparison betwixt the usefulness of Mr. Johnes's version and Lord Berners's, as the latter has not only failed to correct the errors of Froissart as to proper names of persons and places, but has deplorably aggravated them. The Earl of Stamford, to recur to the passage last quoted, is in Froissart called le Compte de Estanfort, and in Berners's hands he becomes Camfort. Mr. Johnes, on the contrary, though his notes are not numerous, has bestowed laudable diligence in correcting the text of his author; has left few blunders, and we trust has made none. The opportunity of comparing so many various manuscripts has doubtless tended much to reform the text, and we do not venture to offer criticism where we have not an opportunity of seeing the original authorities. It might be worth Mr. Johnes's while to consult the splendid manuscript of Froissart, formerly belonging to the Conventual Library of Newbottle, and now to the Earl of Ancram.

Engravings from many rare and curious illuminations are given in this volume. They present to us the dresses, costume, and manners of Froissart's heroes, and add greatly to the interest of the publication.

After all, it may occur to our readers, that an edition of Lord Berners's translation, reduced to a systematic orthography, and corrected and enlarged where correction and enlargement was necessary, might have superseded the labours of Mr. Johnes, and, at the same time, have preserved an ancient English classic. But

we are more disposed to be grateful for what may be considered as a free gift made to the public, than strictly to examine how far it might have been made more acceptable. If the Hafod press performs what is incumbent on that of Clarendon, the founder is surely entitled to choose betwixt the character of a translator and editor; and while, as a private individual, he discharges at his own expence a public duty, we willingly say, God speed his labours.

ART. VIII. *Memoires sur la Respiration, par Lazare Spallanzani.* Traduits en Français d'après son manuscript inédit, par Jean Senebier, Membre de diverses Académies et Sociétés savantes, Associé correspondant de l'Institut National, et Bibliothecaire à Genève. 8vo. A Genève, chez J. J. Pachaud, An XI. (1803.) pp. 373.

THIS work seems entitled to attention, both from the importance of the subject and the celebrity of the author. Few of the modern physiologists of Italy are so well known in this island as Lazarus Spallanzani. The novelty of his physiological inquiries, the ingenuity of his experimental researches, and the unwearied perseverance with which he investigated the most minute circumstances connected with them, have given to most of his works the reputation of originality and uncommon accuracy. Some of his discoveries, indeed, were so unexpected, and so contrary to analogy, that they were at first received with very general distrust; and, by detailing again and again the same experiment under circumstances but slightly varied, he frequently carries his desire of extreme precision so far as to become prolix and fatiguing. This, however, is a fault which will meet with a ready excuse from all lovers of science; at least, we have much oftener had occasion to lament an injudicious conciseness, which has limited the utility of experimental inquiries, by suppressing circumstances which, although at the time they seemed unimportant, afterwards have become of the greatest consequence when connected with subsequent discoveries or opinions.

To these posthumous memoirs, Senebier has with great propriety prefixed an historical account of the life and writings of their author, Although, from its extreme partiality, it can lay no claim to biographical excellence, it is not without its utility as a record of facts and dates.

Lazarus Spallanzani was born at Scandiano, in the dutchy of Modena, on the 10th January, 1729. At the age of fifteen he went to Reggio, where, under the tuition of the Jesuits, his progress in belles-lettres was so rapid, that he became an object of attention to the Dominicans, who endeavoured to entice him to enter their order; but, fortunately, his thirst for knowledge led

him to Bologna, where his relation Laura Bassi, deservedly celebrated for her genius, her eloquence, and her mathematical knowledge, was professor in the Institute. By her he was taught the valuable lesson of preferring the study of nature to that of its commentators, and to judge of the latter by comparing them with the former. But notwithstanding his attachment to belles-lettres and natural philosophy, in compliance with the wishes of his father he submitted to the drudgery of studying law, and was about to take his degree, when his countryman Anthony Valisnieri, professor of natural history in Padua, interposed, and he was permitted to follow the bent of his genius. In 1754 he was chosen professor of Greek, Logic and Mathematics, in the university of Reggio; and notwithstanding the duties of this multifarious charge, he began his experiments on infusory animals with so much success, as to attract the notice of Haller and Bonnet, the latter of whom, especially, contributed much to confirm his taste for natural history. In 1760 he accepted a chair in the university of Modena, although he had received more advantageous offers from Coimbra, Parma and Cesena; and some years afterwards he rejected overtures from the Academy of Petersburg. His patriotism, however, yielded to the seducing advances of the Empress Maria Theresa, who appointed him, in 1768, professor of Natural History, and keeper of the Museum in her newly re-established and much favoured University of Pavia. On the death of Valisnieri he was offered his chair at Padua; but the government of Lombardy thought proper to bribe him to remain, by doubling his salary, and allowing him to travel to Constantinople. After the conquest of Italy by the French, he was offered the chair of Natural History at Paris, which he declined on account of his advanced period of life. He died at Pavia in consequence of a suppression of urine, on the 3d of February 1799.

Such are the outlines of the life of this celebrated naturalist, whose talents and amiable qualities, if we were to give implicit faith to the representations of his friend, were of the very highest order of excellence. Of his merits as a philosopher and as an author, his numerous publications afford a safer criterion. He has not only contributed to increase our knowledge of the important functions of generation, digestion and circulation, but an immense variety of minor objects have received illustrations from his ingenuity. His mind seems to have been always uncommonly active; for no sooner were his annual academical labours at an end, than he hastened to explore some of the districts of Italy, principally with the view of enriching the museum of Pavia; and the published accounts of several of these excursions are undeniable proofs of his zeal and talents for observation. Even to the latest

period of his life, he seems to have kept pace with the progress of science. At the age of 68, he refuted with success the celebrated experiments of Goettling, and published an account of the still more celebrated shower of stones at Sienna; and at the time of his death he was engaged in preparing several works for the press, and in completing a well imagined and very extensive inquiry into the complicated phenomena of respiration. His style of writing is diffuse and verbose, and he is apt on every occasion to exaggerate the importance of his own observations and discoveries. As an Italian, however, these blemishes are his birthright —and, by his countrymen, his works are esteemed as models of pure and chaste composition. In the chair he was animated and eloquent beyond any professor to whom we have ever listened; and the elegance of his language, and the varied modulation of his voice, always commanded attention. In the distribution of his subject, he chiefly followed Bonnet; and his manner was diffuse and popular, rather than condensed and systematic; so that he occupied three sessions in completing one course. His eloquence always filled his class-room; yet, as far as we could judge, he was not a favourite either with his colleagues or his pupils. His conduct in a dispute with Scopoli, which is said to have broken his rival's heart, was almost universally reprobated. In his latter days, he was accused, we believe unjustly, of dilapidating that museum which owed its magnificence to his enthusiasm, and was reproached with a want of systematic knowledge of the very science which he was appointed to teach. But although, with regard to Spallanzani, the old adage 'Minuit præsentia famam,' was strictly true, we are rather inclined to ascribe it to the malice of envy, than to any real deficiency of merit; and it is with pleasure that we proceed to the examination of the present posthumous volume.

On opening the book, we were immediately struck with the title-page, and hastened to peruse the preface, that we might learn why the literary relics of the eloquent professor of Pavia should be first introduced to the public through the medium of a French translation. It was not without some indignation or regret that we learned, that in the present circumstances of Italy, a small octavo volume, from one of its most celebrated writers, could not be published in his native language without a certain loss to the editor. To what a state of degrading poverty must that fair country be reduced! How completely must science be banished from its once favoured abode! It may perhaps afford our readers some consolation, however, to be informed, that these evils were brought upon their country by the very individuals who are now most severely oppressed by them. The recent subjugation of Italy was effected rather by

the treachery of the inhabitants, than by the arms of the invaders; and in this treachery no class was more deeply involved than the men of letters. In the University of Pavia, in particular, very few of the professors remained true to their allegiance, or attempted to oppose the progress of revolutionary principles; the greater part affected an absolute indifference towards events which were to decide the fate of their country; while many took advantage of the influence they possessed over the minds of the youth committed to their charge, to excite them to acts of violence, which they themselves did not dare to perform, but of which they expected to reap the advantage. The natural consequence was, that almost every student in Pavia hailed the approach of the French as an incalculable blessing to his country; and in his ardent imagination already beheld Italy regenerated, the grandeur of republican Rome restored, and personal merit the only source of distinction. The infant Cisalpine republic teemed with embryo heroes, legislators, and philosophers. But, alas, its heroes have only swelled the armies of its conquerors; the wisest plans of its legislators have been rejected with contempt; and the works of its philosophers are forced to seek their way to public notice through the medium of a foreign language.

For three years before his death, Spallanzani had been engaged in an extensive experimental inquiry into the function of respiration; and he was so far advanced in it, that, in a letter addressed to Senebier, and prefixed to the present work, he has given a general abstract of the whole. Besides, in an introduction of considerable length, he not only developes his plan, but, amidst a number of judicious and new remarks on the respiration of the different classes of animals, he has given us the general results of his inquiries. The principal objects which he proposed to himself were to investigate,

1. The respiration of the six classes of animals, beginning with the lowest, and proceeding in succession to the highest, or mammalia, in which man is included.

2. The respiration of those animals which become torpid from the action of cold.

3. The chemical changes induced on the air by the skins of those animals which are destitute of lungs.

4. The changes which are produced by dead animal matter on air in which it is confined.

In prosecution of this plan, Spallanzani had completed four memoirs before his death, but Senebier only received the three which are printed in this volume; on the respiration of the terrestrial testacea; of slugs; and of the aquatic testacea. But they con-

tain a number of other facts, which will enable us to conjecture with great probability what the results of his inquiries would have been, had he lived to complete them. The idea of examining the respiration of the different classes of animals is not new, but it has never before been carried so systematically into effect. The only chemist who has anticipated Spallanzani in examining the respiration of any of the Vermes, is Vauquelin. He found reason to conclude that the respiration of oxygen gas is necessary to their life; that carbonic acid is formed; that they are insensible to its deleterious action; and that they analyze perfectly and completely atmospheric air, by consuming all its oxygen. All these conclusions are confirmed by the experiments of Spallanzani, except the last; for he clearly proves, that in almost every instance, a proportion of azote is also absorbed, and that the whole of the oxygen is not always consumed. The subjects of his experiments were, in the first place, the Helix memoralis. This snail is of two sexes, and is oviparous. From October to April it remains in a lethargic state, buried in the earth, with its shell hermetically sealed up by a calcareous membrane. In some very severe winters, such as that of 1795, it has been found completely frozen, and yet has revived on being exposed to a mild temperature.—Its organs of respiration consist of a small membranous bladder, which communicates with the external air by means of a small hole which the animal seems to open and shut at pleasure.—The heart is situated so as to be exposed to the immediate action of the air contained in the pulmonary vesicle. The absolute necessity of air for their existence is proved, not only by their dying when confined in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump, or when immersed in water, but by confining them in 100 measures of atmospherical air until they perished. On analysis, Spallanzani found that about 18 parts of oxygen and 5 of azote were absorbed, while 6.5 of carbonic acid gas were produced. On confining them only half the time necessary to kill them, 18 of oxygen and 5 of azote were consumed, and 4.5 of carbonic acid were produced. When confined equal times in atmospheric air and in oxygen gas, in the former case 20 of oxygen and 4 of azote were consumed, and 6 of carbonic acid gas produced; in the latter 38 of oxygen gas were consumed, and 14 of carbonic acid gas produced. These changes, as well as the death of the animal, take place more slowly as the temperature is diminished; until, at last, about the freezing point they cease altogether, and both respiration and circulation seem to be suspended, although they are still capable of being revived, by gradually increasing the temperature. Spallanzani therefore thinks it highly probable, that during their winter lethargy both these functions

are entirely suspended. But our author did not rest satisfied with merely ascertaining the changes produced on these gaseous fluids by the living animal; he was aware of the absolute necessity of examining into the effects produced on them by the dead animal, before he could be warranted to draw any conclusion with regard to the share which respiration and life may have in producing these changes: and the result of his inquiries affords an useful lesson to those engaged in physiological experiments, not to be too hasty in drawing conclusions; for he found that these changes on atmospheric air and oxygen gas, at least so far as the consumption of oxygen and the production of carbonic acid gas was concerned, were also produced by snails when deprived of life by immersion in boiling water, by snails in every stage of putrefaction, and even by their shells, until they were reduced to mere carbonate of lime. For example, two snails killed by boiling water, consumed in twenty-four hours 9 parts of oxygen gas out of 100 of atmospheric air, and produced 6 of carbonic acid, and 5 of azote. But he also found that the dead snails were four times longer than the living in producing the same consumption of oxygen. Now, as these changes are totally independent of life and respiration, it seems probable, that when living snails are confined in respirable gases, part of the oxygen is consumed independently of respiration.

The same experiments were repeated, with exactly the same results, on the Helix Lusitanica and Helix Itala. A long tract of dry weather in summer, such as frequently occurs in Lombardy during the months of July and August, produces the same effect on snails as the cold of winter. They retire to some shady situation, and seal up their shells; and during this long fast, they become even more emaciated than in winter. On reviving, they eat with great greediness. Spallanzani took advantage of this circumstance to make comparative experiments between snails starved and after a full meal; and in corroboration of the experiments of Lavoisier, he found that although the consumption of oxygen gas was nearly the same, the production of carbonic acid gas was much greater, and the consumption of azote somewhat less in the latter case. In all the experiments on living snails oxygen gas was consumed, and carbonic acid gas produced; but the same uniformity did not take place with regard to the azote; for although in general, a portion of it was consumed, yet sometimes on the contrary, there was a production of it, especially after a full meal devoured with great greediness, or when the animal was moribund.

Several species of *slugs* were the next subjects of Spallanzani's experiments, and they afford nearly the same conclusions. They

absorb oxygen, and produce carbonic acid gas, but do not consume any azote. These changes they effect more quickly than the shell-snails, and they die sooner in irrespirable gases, or when deprived of oxygen. Their organs of respiration consist of a small cavity, which opens by a canal on the right side of the neck.

The second memoir treats of the aquatic testacea, and first of the Helix vivipara. This insect does not seem to be provided with any distinct organ of respiration; but oxygen gas is necessary for its existence, although it consumes it very slowly. From his experiments on fresh-water bivalves, the Mytilus anatinus and cygneus, and Marine bivalves, the Mytilus edulis and Ostrea jacobæa and edulis, which are all provided with branchiæ, the same necessity for the presence of oxygen was also demonstrated; but they produced no change in the azote of air confined in contact with themselves, or with the water in which they were placed. It is remarkable, that not only aquatic animals, but also terrestrial animals, both living and dead, absorb oxygen from air in contact with water in which they are immersed.

The third memoir is of a miscellaneous nature, as it is entitled, 'Reflections and Observations on the Crustacea hitherto examined, and on some other kinds of animals.' From the experiments related in the preceding memoirs, it appears that the cold-blooded animals die like the warm-blooded when deprived of oxygen; the only difference is, that the latter consume it more quickly, and die before it is entirely consumed, even although the carbonic acid be absorbed by means of a solution of alkali as fast as it is formed. By confining snails in an irrespirable gas, such as azote, their respiration and circulation gradually cease; but on the admission of oxygen gas, they recommence. The suspension of the vital functions by cold in these animals, naturally led Spallanzani to examine whether it took place in other kinds of animals furnished with membranous and vesicular lungs. For the detail of these experiments, we are however referred to memoirs which we are afraid have not been left in a state fit for publication; but fortunately he has here preserved some of the principal results. At −12 Reaumur, no sign of respiration could be perceived in a marmot. It was confined three hours and a half in a small quantity of air, without suffering any inconvenience, or altering it in the least, and four hours with equal impunity in carbonic acid gas, although a rat put in along with it was killed instantly. When the temperature of the air was about the freezing point, the lethargy was not complete; there was a perceptible elevation and depression of the sides and in this situation carbonic acid gas killed it. Hence it appears, that the circumstances attending the lethargy of warm-blooded

animals are precisely similar to that of the lower classes; and from both facts, a very powerful and apparently incontrovertible argument may be deduced against the hypothesis, that life depends altogether on the continued exhibition of stimulants.

As oxygen gas is consumed, and carbonic acid gas formed during respiration, it becomes of importance to know, whether the latter is formed in the act of respiration by the combination of carbon evolved from the lungs with the oxygen inspired. To determine this point, Spallanzani took advantage of the facts which he had observed, that snails are capable of surviving some hours when confined in the irrespirable gases. He accordingly confined snails chosen in every respect as similar as possible, in atmospheric air, in azotic and in hydrogen gas; and he found that in general there was a larger quantity of carbonic acid gas produced in the azotic and hydrogen gases than in the atmospheric air, proving that the carbonic acid, in these instances at least, is not formed by the combination of carbon with the oxygen of the ambient air, but that it existed ready formed in the animal matter. Results affording the same conclusion were obtained in experiments made with snails deprived of life by immersion in boiling water.

Although these Memoirs treat professedly only of the respiration of a few of the lowest classes of animals, yet we have seen that they contain several interesting facts on the respiration of animals rendered lethargic by cold. We are likewise enabled to draw some conclusions with regard to the third object of Spallanzani's inquiry, from the information regarding it communicated in the prefatory letter to Senebier. We quote a part of it from an English translation, as a specimen of the author's manner.

'The amphibia after death displayed the same phenomena as the worms, insects, and fishes; but when alive, they presented other subjects of inquiry. Having observed that some of them survived the destruction of their lungs several days, I was enabled to submit them in this state to examination, and thus to ascertain with precision the different quantity of oxygen absorbed by the lungs and the skin. I was likewise enabled to institute a comparison between the quantity of oxygen absorbed by these mutilated animals, and by those which had not undergone this operation.

'You will see, in my work, what a small quantity of oxygen is absorbed by the lungs, in proportion to that taken in by the skin; although it is generally believed that in this, as well as in the two higher classes of animals, the destruction of the oxygen contained in the atmosphere is attributable to that organ alone. Some species of amphibia, from which I cut out the lungs, lived even longer in free air than those which were not deprived of this organ when confined in mephitic gas, or air wholly destitute of oxygen. I discovered, farther, that some of them died much sooner when their skin was slightly covered by a var-

nish with spirits of wine; the reason of which is evident, as, by means of this varnish, they are not only prevented from absorbing the oxygen, but rendered incapable of exhaling the carbonic acid, the expulsion of which seems equally essential to the continuance of their existence; whilst, on the contrary, if the experiment be made in mephitic gases, the carbonic acid is always found in a gaseous state.

'I have been able, however, to determine the precise quantity of oxygen absorbed by the skin, without cutting out the lungs from these amphibia, by confining their bodies in recipients in such a manner that, while the head alone had any communication with the external air, they could breathe without pain or difficulty. In this way, I ascertained that the absorption which takes place after the death of the animals, is only a continuation of that which was carried on during their life.' p. 76-8.

After observing that oxygen was absorbed in the same way by the external surface of birds and warm-blooded animals, he proceeds to sum up the doctrine by the following experiments and observations.

'As the circumstance was somewhat curious, you may perhaps recollect my marmot, which became so extremely torpid during the rigorous winter of 1795. I kept this animal, at that period, four hours in carbonic acid gas, the thermometer marking 12°; yet it continued to live in this gas, which is so very deleterious that a bird and a rat which I exposed to its influence at the same time perished instantaneously. It appears, then, that a total suspension of respiration had taken place during the whole of that period. The same experiment was repeated on a bat equally lethargic, with a similar result.

'In pursuing still farther my experiments, I preferred these flying quadrupeds to the marmot, afraid that this animal might sink under repeated trials; and I had only two, which I wished to reserve for other experiments; whilst, on the contrary, I possessed a great number of bats.

'I first wished to ascertain if, when respiration was suspended in these animals, there would be any production of carbonic acid from the skin; for which purpose I substituted azotic for carbonic acid gas. I then placed in this gas two bats, the thermometer standing at 9°, and allowed them to remain in it about two hours; after which I gradually removed them into a warmer medium, when they exhibited evident signs of life; but I could discover no carbonic acid gas in the azotic gas, from which I was led to conclude that the temperature was too low for the exhalation of this gas. I repeated these experiments at different temperatures successively raised to $3\frac{1}{2}$°, when $\frac{1}{170}$ of carbonic acid gas were produced, although the torpidity of the animals was equally great.

'In this state of things I repeated the experiments under similar circumstances, only removing the bats into another vessel filled with atmospheric air; when I found not only the production of $5\frac{1}{2}$ hundredths

of carbonic acid gas, but the destruction of $\frac{6}{100}$ of oxygen gas. Although these two small quadrupeds were enclosed in common air, their profound torpor prevented them altogether from respiring; nor could that swelling and sinking in their sides be perceived, which are occasioned by the inflation and collapse of the lungs during respiration; neither did these phenomena occur in the open air: from all which it is evident, that the partial consumption of oxygen gas was in consequence of its absorption by the skin.

'The result of the whole is, that this chemical power, of absorbing the vital part of the atmosphere, possessed by these warm-blooded animals after death, is the same as that which they display during life, and which continues to act until their bodies are wholly decomposed.' p. 81-3.

With regard to this last object of inquiry, indeed, we receive satisfactory information in various parts of this work. Dead animal matter of every description, (except the bile, which does not seem to possess this property), the shells of snails and of birds' eggs, all absorb oxygen.

The occasional inconsistencies and frequent want of perspicuity which may be observed in this work, must be ascribed to the circumstances of its being posthumous, and published in the form of a translation; for had its author lived to have superintended the printing of it, we have no doubt that he would have improved the arrangement, supplied, on many occasions, what now appears to be deficient, and corrected the whole. But, even in its present state, it contains many new and valuable observations on the important function of respiration; and we look forward with impatience to the publication of an arranged selection of the most valuable experiments and observations, in the journals and other manuscripts of the physiologist of Pavia, which, we are informed in the preface, have been sent for that purpose to Senebier.

This work has been lately published in the English language; and as it is not announced in the title-page as a translation from the French, it has the appearance, we do not know whether from accident or design, of an original publication, that is, of having been translated into English by Senebier from the Italian manuscript.

ART. IX. *An account of the Operations carried on for accomplishing a Trigonometrical Survey of England and Wales; begun under the Direction of the Royal Society, and continued by order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance.* Revised from the Philosophical Transactions by Captain William Mudge, F. R. S. and Mr. Isaac Dalby. Printed for W. Faden, Charing-Cross. Vol. I. 1799. Vol. II. 1801, 1804.

THE work here announced is composed of papers read at different periods in the Royal Society of London, since the commencement of the Trigonometrical Survey in 1784, down to the present time. As the interest excited by that survey, created an unusual demand for the volumes of the Philosophical Transactions in which the accounts of it were contained, the publisher of this work thought he would do a thing useful to science, and acceptable to the public, by collecting all these accounts into one. In this he has had the assistance of the Royal Society, and has been furnished with the plates already engraved for the Transactions; an indulgence, of which he has made a very fair use, by selling the book at a lower price than the elegance of the work and the number of the plates might have entitled him to demand.

The first volume of the Trigonometrical Survey was published in 1799; and it is only the second part of the second volume, which by its date falls immediately under our notice; but we trust that the importance of a great national undertaking will justify the retrospect which we are about to take of the whole.

The idea of a Geometrical Survey, to be undertaken by Government, and executed at the public expence, first occurred on the suppression of the rebellion in 1745, at the suggestion of the late Lieutenant General Watson, at that time deputy quarter-master general in North Britain. It fell to the late General Roy, who was then assistant quarter-master, to have a great share in the execution of this work; and the survey, which was at first meant to be confined to the Highlands, was extended to the low country, and made general for Scotland. Of the map produced from this survey, and which has remained in manuscript in the hands of Government, the General himself tells us that though it answered the purpose for which it was intended, and is not without considerable merit, yet the survey having been made with instruments of an inferior kind, and the sum annually allowed being very inadequate to so great a design, it is rather to be considered as a magnificent military sketch, than as an accurate map of a country.

At the conclusion of the peace of 1763, it came under the con-

sideration of Government to make a map of the whole island from actual survey, to which the map just mentioned was to be made subservient: the execution of the whole was to be committed to General then Colonel Roy, whose experience, acquired in the Scotish survey, had been improved by as constant an exercise in the operations of practical geometry and astronomy as the duties of his profession would admit, and whom, his love of such pursuits, and his indefatigable activity, pointed out as eminently qualified for this service.

Circumstances, however, which it is easy to conceive in general, but which it would be useless to know in detail, prevented any step from being taken toward the execution of this design, till after the peace of 1783, when a memoir drawn up by Cassini de Thury was presented to our government by the French ambassador setting forth the advantages that would accrue to geography and astronomy from carrying a series of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk, (to which place the meridian of Paris had already been extended), so that the relative position of the two most celebrated observatories in the world might be ascertained by actual measurement.

This memoir having been communicated by the secretary of state (Mr Fox) to Sir Joseph Banks, and the plan proposed in it having received the approbation of the Royal Society, the execution of it was committed to General Roy, who was at that moment engaged in a survey of London and its environs for the purpose of connecting together the different observatories in and about that metropolis; a work which, with his usual ardour and activity, he had undertaken for his own amusement.

As a series of triangles was now to be extended from about Greenwich through Kent, and across the Channel to Calais and Dunkirk, the first thing to be done was to measure a base, from the length of which the lengths of the sides of all the triangles might be inferred. Such a line was accordingly traced out on Hounslow-heath, extending from a point near Hampton Poor-house, to a place called the King's Arbour, a distance of more than five miles, which was measured with the most scrupulous exactness. The description which General Roy has given of this measurement, deserves the attention of every one who is concerned in the operations of practical geometry, and who wishes to be made acquainted with the utmost resources of his art. He will perhaps see with surprise, that many of the things which he is accustomed to do with very little expence, either of time or of thought, require, when they are to be done with precision, no small proportion of both; that to make two rods exactly of the

same length, to place them in the same straight line, and to make the beginning of one coincide with the end of another, demand much skill and patience; in a word, that the most common matter, when executed with extreme accuracy, becomes difficult; and that science and art must combine to discover and to remove those minute obstacles, of which the bulk of mankind do not even suspect the existence.

The measurement of the base was first undertaken with deal rods of twenty feet in length; but though these were made of the best seasoned timber, from an old mast cut up on purpose, though they were perfectly straight, and secured from bending in the most effectual manner, yet the changes in their lengths, produced by the moisture and dryness of the air, were so considerable, as to take away all confidence in the results deduced from them. Glass rods were therefore substituted in their room, consisting of straight tubes twenty feet in length, enclosed in wooden frames; and these had the advantage of being susceptible of alteration only from heat or cold, according to laws which could be accurately ascertained. The base measured with these rods was found to be 27404.08 feet precisely, or 5.19 miles.

We refer for the particulars to the account itself, where General Roy has described the apparatus used, and the precautions taken to ensure the success of the operation. The detail, though minute, is interesting, and must be highly instructive to those engaged in operations any way similar. We would particularly recommend his description of the deal rods, the method of laying off their lengths, of the stands for supporting them, of the boning telescope, &c.

As the measurement of lines by a chain is, however, much more convenient and expeditious than by any other means, it was thought desirable to ascertain how far the accuracy of such a measurement could be depended on, and how near, in the present instance, it might approximate to that by the glass rods. For the purpose of this experiment, Ramsden had prepared a chain of the very best construction, made of hardened steel, one hundred feet in length, and jointed somewhat like a watch-chain. General Roy having measured a part of the base with this chain, and with the glass rods at the same time, found that the results differed by a quantity wholly inconsiderable. Several years afterwards, the whole base was measured with the steel chain; and the difference between that and the measurement by the rods was found not to exceed two inches and three quarters of an inch, a difference on the length of five miles that is plainly of no account. Hence it was inferred, that measurements made with such a chain as has just been mentioned, and with due precautions, viz. stretch-

ing it always in the same degree, supporting it on troughs laid horizontally, allowing for change of temperature, &c. are as much to be relied on, as those made in any other way whatsoever. This experiment, therefore, involved the determination of a material question with respect to the conduct of all future surveys.*

General Roy was assisted in these operations by Mr. Isaac Dalby, a mathematician of eminence, and now professor of the mathematics in the Military College at High Wickham. A party of soldiers was also attached to the survey, for the purpose of doing such parts of the work as were merely laborious, and had a small encampment on the heath. The performance of this great experiment, for so it may very properly be called, could not fail to draw the attention of the men of science about London. The Master General of the Ordnance, the President of the Royal Society, the Astronomer Royal, and many other distinguished persons, frequently witnessed the skill and attention employed in conducting it. The mensuration of the base (including the repetition of it, and several collateral matters, as well as delays from bad weather) took up from the middle of June to the end of August 1784. The extremities of the base were then marked by the centres of two wooden tubes, and have since been more permanently ascertained by the centres of two iron cannon sunk in the ground.

Experiments and observations, of the kind which we are now considering, seldom fail to benefit science, not only directly, but indirectly, by the collateral objects to which they lead. A pyrometer, constructed by Ramsden, for the purpose of ascertaining the expension of solid bodies by heat, is probably the best instrument of the kind which has yet been made, and is one of the monuments of skill and genius that will long preserve the memory of that incomparable artist.

It was not till the summer 1787, that the measurement was resumed by actually extending a series of triangles from Greenwich to Dunkirk. For this purpose, signals were erected, in such conspicuous situations, and at such distances, as were judged convenient: the straight lines joining these points, formed a set of triangles, the angles of which were measured by a theodolite which Ramsden had constructed, and which was carried successively to all the stations. In these triangles, therefore,

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* It may be proper to remark, however, that Le Gendre, after having considered the method of the steel chain, seems still to prefer that by *rods of metal*, because of the difficulty of giving the chain always a sufficient and uniform degree of tension.

which were so formed that one side was always common to two of them, all the angles became known, and a side of one of them being also given, viz. the base on Hounslow-heath, the sides of all the rest could be found by trigonometrical computation. So also, the bearing of any one of the sides in respect of the meridian being known by observation, the bearings of all the rest with respect to the same meridian were determined.

The theodolite by which the angles of these triangles were measured, was superior to any thing that had ever been used in geodetical observations, and might be compared with the best instruments of astronomy. Ramsden had exerted himself to the utmost both in the design and execution of it; he had united in it the powers of a theodolite, a quadrant, and a transit instrument, and had made it capable of measuring horizontal angles to fractions of a second. It was furnished with a telescope of a much higher magnifying power than had ever been before applied to observations purely terrestrial; and by this superiority in its construction, even if it were the only one, we are persuaded that the surveys made with it are more accurate than any other. The French academicians, for example, who joined General Roy at Dover, as we shall see presently, employed in their measurement a very excellent instrument, a circle of repetition, of the kind invented by Borda; and by taking the same angle several times over on different parts of the limb, they could diminish the error arising from the division of the instrument to an indefinite degree. But there was another error which they could not diminish, viz. that which arose from the small power of their glasses, and the consequent largeness of the real diametres of the objects which appeared to them as points or lines. Though their observations were therefore extremely good, and far exceeding any that had been made in France previous to the introduction of Borda's circle, they do not seem to equal those in the English survey. As England was later in undertaking works of this sort than France, and some other nations on the continent, it seemed but just that she should aim at superior excellence: and possessing, as Cassini says, the first artist in the world, it was not difficult for her to attain it.

The high power of the telescope just mentioned, obviated many of the difficulties concerning the signals employed to distinguish the precise point at each station that was to be intersected from the rest. When the object to be intersected was not the spire of a steeple, a flag-staff was commonly used; but when the distance was great, or the weather not very favourable, *lights* were employed, and the observations were made in the night. These lights were either reverberatory lamps, or *white lights*, (so called

from their extreme brilliancy), fired at a particular time previously agreed on. The signals made in this manner were visible at a great distance even in bad weather. Cassini says that he hardly expects to be believed, when he tells that he observed one from about Calais, which was fired on the opposite shore, about 40 miles off, in bad weather.

The precaution taken of placing the great theodolite at all times with its centre exactly perpendicular to the point that was to be intersected from the other stations, deserves also to be mentioned. Though the allowance to be made for the distance of the instrument from the angular point is easily computed, yet it is difficult to avoid some error in doing so; and the frequent recurrence of such errors is a source of inaccuracy which it is much better to have entirely cut off.

From all these circumstances, added to others which we cannot here enumerate, the angles were generally observed with such accuracy, as to manifest the effect of the earth's sphericity by giving the sum of the three angles of a triangle somewhat greater than 180°, and that even where the sides did not exceed 15 or 20 miles. This excess above 180° is produced by the plane of the instrument at the three angular points of the triangle not being parallel to itself, but perpendicular to three lines which meet (at least nearly), in one point, the centre of the earth. It is called the spherical excess; and it was in this survey that there came, for the first time, to be any question concerning the quantity of it, in each triangle. The instruments used in former surveys had never been accurate enough to bring a quantity so small as hardly ever to amount to 4″ in one triangle, to be an object of investigation. In the observations made for verifying the meridian of Paris about fifty years ago, the error in the three angles of a triangle often amounts to 20 or 30 seconds; and then of course, no question could occur about a connexion which cannot exceed the tenth part of that quantity. But in General Roy's observations, the error in the three angles of a triangle never reaches 3″; and, therefore, the spherical excess is of importance to be ascertained. In justice to the French academicians who co-operated with the General, it must be observed that the angles taken by them with Borda's instrument, were accurate within 1″ or 2″ on each angle, so that they found equal reason for employing the spherical excess.

This remark is applicable to all the measurements made in France since the period we are here treating of. They have all been made with the *repeating* circle, and seem to have reached a very high degree of accuracy.

The introduction of a new element into trigonometrical com-

putation, is of great importance, and will probably be found to mark a precise æra in all measurements relating to the figure of the earth. The spherical excess in any triangle, has a given relation to the area of that triangle; for it is to 180° as that area is to the area of a great circle of the sphere; and it was from this theorem that General Roy deduced the rule which he has given for computing the spherical excess, independently of the angles themselves. For this purpose, the area of the triangle is to be estimated as if it were rectilineal; and it is sufficient to do this even by a very rude approximation, because it requires an area of about 75 square miles to produce a single second of spherical excess.

As it was necessary that the French geometers should unite with the English in carrying into full effect the plan which they themselves were the first to propose, three distinguished members of the Academy of Sciences, Cassini, Mecain, and Le Gendre, met General Roy and Dr. Blagden at Dover, where measures were concerted for the corresponding observations to be made on the coasts of France and England. The French academicians were furnished by General Roy with white lights to be fired on their side, while corresponding observations were made at Dover, and Fairlight-Down, on the coast of England. The operations on both sides succeeded perfectly, notwithstanding that the weather was by no means favourable. The three academicians above named, having crossed the channel again, after their observasions were finished, repaired to London, and appear to have been highly gratified by the objects they saw, and the reception they met with in that metropolis. It is painful to reflect, that this is the last amicable interview which has taken place even among the men of letters of the two countries; and that the hostile armies of both countries are now encamped on the very ground which was the theatre of these scientific operations.

Besides measuring all the angles in the triangles that have been mentioned, it was necessary to fix the bearing of some one of the sides of those triangles in respect of the meridian. This was done by observing the azimuth of the pole-star, relatively to the given line, at its greatest distance from the meridian, both on the east and west sides. This method of ascertaining the angle which any line on the earth's surface makes with the meridian, we apprehend to be greatly preferable, for expedition as well as accuracy, to any other that is known. It cannot, however, be practised to advantage, but with such an instrument as the great theodolite, which answers for a transit, and carries a telescope of power sufficient to render the pole-star vi-

sible during the day. This, therefore, is one of the circumstances on account of which we think the British survey entitled to a preference above every other.

That a check might not be wanting on any errors that had crept into a work of such variety and extent, General Roy caused a second base to be measured on the flat ground of Rumney-Marsh, which was not far distant from the southern extremity of the series of triangles. When the length of this base, as actually measured, was compared with that deduced by connecting it with the base on Hounslow-Heath, the two results were found to differ only by twenty-eight inches, which must appear very inconsiderable when we reflect that the two lines are more than sixty miles asunder. There was reason, nevertheless, to suspect that this base of verification was not so correctly measured as that on Hounslow-Heath.

The conclusions deduced from all these observations as far as respects the relative position of the observatories of Greenwich and Paris, are, first, that the distance between their parallels of latitude is 963954 feet, = 182.567 miles, which corresponds on the earth's surface to an arch of 2° 38′ 26″ in the heavens (the difference of latitude), and therefore the length of a degree of the meridian in the latitude 50° 10′ comes out = 60843 fathoms = 69.14 miles.

Again, the perpendicular from the tower of Dunkirk on the meridian of Greenwich is found to be 547058 feet; from which, subtracting 9080 feet, the distance of Dunkirk east of the meridian of Paris, we have the perpendicular let fall from the point in the meridian of Paris, which is in the parallel of Greenwich, on the meridian of this last = 537978 feet = 101. 89 miles.* The General also having determined, from the length and azimuth of one of the lines in the survey (between Botley-Hill and Goudhurst in Kent) to how many fathoms a degree of longitude in that parallel corresponds, has from thence deduced the difference of longitude of Greenwich and Paris = 2° 19′ 51″, or, in time, 9ᵐ 19ˢ.4; which agrees with the conclusion which Dr. Maskelyne had before drawn from *data* purely astronomical. It must how-

* Another result, not uninteresting, is the breadth of the English channel where it is narrowest. The line from the Keep of Dover Castle to the station at Blancnez, is 116660 feet = 22.095 miles. The south foreland appears to be about two miles nearer to Blancnez, if we measure on the map, which accompanies the survey. The least breadth of the channel, therefore, does not exceed twenty miles;—a narrow but a strong barrier,—one of those indelible lines which nature has kindly traced out on the surface of the earth to resist the ambition and preserve the independence of nations.

ever be observed that Le Gendre deduces from the same measurement a result considerably different, and makes the difference of longitude of the two observatories $9^m\ 21^s$ (Mem. de l'Acad. 1788), which is 1.$\frac{1}{2}$ seconds in time greater than the preceding.

But though nothing certainly can exceed the accuracy of General Roy's observations, we cannot bestow praise equally unqualified on the methods by which the results are deduced from them. The General has made use, as before mentioned, of the spherical excess, for the purpose of estimating the accuracy of his observations; yet he has not derived, from the introduction of that new element, all the advantage which it is capable of affording. He has great merit in being the first to make use of it, though he did not perceive the whole of its importance. This was indeed first made known by a theorem of Le Gendre, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for 1787, from which it appears, that if each of the angles of a small spherical triangle be diminished by one third of the spherical excess, the sines of the angles thus diminished will be very nearly proportional to the lengths of the sides themselves; so that the computations with respect to such spherical triangles may be made by the rules of plane trigonometry. General Roy was probably unacquainted with this theorem, which is not of very easy investigation; and though he has virtually employed it in part, because he always reduced the angles of his triangles to 180° before he used them in calculation, yet he derives no benefit from it in many of the cases where it is of the greatest importance. These are when two angles only of a triangle have been observed, and it is required to find the third angle; or, again, in calculating the distances of the stations from the meridian, or the perpendicular to it, where the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle is given, and one of the oblique angles. In such cases, an attention to the above theorem will enable the calculator to bring out a far more accurate conclusion than he can otherwise obtain. It must be confessed, that the General has not calculated on this principle, and that he has not taken as a substitute for it, the reduction of the observed angles to the angles contained by the chords of the arches, (the method that Major Mudge has adopted in the farther prosecution of the trigonometrical survey); and that therefore his calculations are deficient in accuracy, at least in that extreme accuracy, which the correctness of the observations themselves entitle us to expect. His method is sufficiently correct for any of the older measurements,—for those in Peru, Lapland, France formerly, and indeed for all that were made any where, till the great theodolite of Ramsden, or the repeating circle of Borda were introduced. It in effect supposes the series of triangles to be laid out or extended on a plain

surface, and to this plane every thing is understood to be reduced. This supposition is no doubt inaccurate; yet the inaccuracy is not considerable, and of no account at all, when the angles of a triangle have not been observed within twenty or thirty seconds of the truth. But when the error of obervation is reduced to less than a tenth part of that quantity, a more exact method of calculating must necessarily be pursued; as the *calculus* should ever be so instituted as to preserve to the conclusions all the accuracy possessed by the *data* themselves. No portion of this, however small, should be suffered to escape; and since it is a quantity which the calculator cannot increase, he should be careful not to diminish it.

The slight degree of incorrectness, therefore, which we have remarked in General Roy's computations, would not deserve to be mentioned, if it were not for the excellence of his observations. It is, besides, an imperfection which it is easy to remove: the part of the work which no one could amend, fortunately stands in need of no emendation.

It is not wonderful if these slight inaccuracies escaped General Roy. The only principle on which they can be completely avoided, without a mode of calculating extremely long and laborious, is the theorem already mentioned, a proposition by no means obvious, and drawn by the excellent mathematician who discovered it from the recesses of the new geometry. The General, possessing from his youth a decided turn for the mathematics, had bent the whole force of a very strong and vigorous understanding chiefly to the practical parts of that science, and those most immediately connected with his profession, but probably was not much conversant with the branches which are more theoretical and abstract. A life spent in continual activity, and of which a large proportion had been passed in the camp or the field, afforded no leisure for such acquirements, and held out, even to the mathematician, more interesting objects of pursuit. The duties of the field-engineer and the quarter-master-general had particularly engaged his attention; and in every thing connected with them he was profoundly versed. He drew excellently, and thoroughly understood the art of representing the inequalities of ground with admirable distinctness, and great beauty of effect. How perfectly he was skilled in surveying, in the highest sense of the word, how conversant in the use of mathematical instruments, and in astronomical observation, it is unnecessary to state, after what has been already said. He was besides a most expert and indefatigable calculator; his acquaintance with natural philosophy, too, was extensive and accurate; and his paper on the measurement of heights by the barometer is a proof of his skill in

conducting experimental inquiries, even when very remote from the line of his ordinary pursuits. General Roy, it should be observed, had pursued this tract while the British army afforded few instances of the same kind, either to encourage him by example, or rouse him by emulation, and when the connexion between the mathematical sciences and the military art was not so well perceived as it perhaps begins to be, at the present moment.

The death of this excellent and accomplished officer, which took place soon after the period we now speak of, seemed for a long time to have put a stop to any design that might have been formed of extending the operations, already so happily begun, to the survey of the whole island: and here we must be permitted to remark, that the account given of the resuming of the survey is unsatisfactory and imperfect. After acknowledging the liberal assistance which the Duke of Richmond, as master-general of the Ordnance, had given to every part of the preceding operations (an acknowledgment which we believe to be most justly due), it is said that a considerable time had elapsed without any apparent intention of renewing the survey, 'when a casual opportunity presented itself (to the Duke of Richmond) of purchasing a very fine instrument, the workmanship of Ramsden, of a construction similar to that which was used by General Roy, but with some improvements; as also two steel chains, of one hundred feet each, made by the same incomparable artist.'

Are we then to suppose that a great and national object was in danger of being dropt, or indefinitely delayed, but for a fortunate and unforeseen accident? Did not the instrument which General Roy had used still remain in the possession of the Royal Society? and if the work was now to be prosecuted, not under the immediate direction of that Society, but of the Board of Ordnance, can we suppose that, on that account, the use of it would have been withheld? This is the less probable, that it has since been actually put into the hands of Major Mudge, and is at present employed by him in the survey. But be this as it may, the purchase of the new theodolite by the Duke of Richmond was indeed purely accidental; for it had been made, if we are not misinformed, by order of the East India Company, for the purpose of surveying their possessions in the East; and Ramsden, in the construction of it, had exerted that increased ingenuity and attention with which the presence of a great and new object used always to inspire him. In the end, some misunderstanding arose; and a fit of ill-humour, or of ill-timed economy, induced the sovereigns of India to refuse an instrument which could do nothing to enlarge their dominions, though in skilful hands it might have done much to render them more secure. The Duke of Richmond was

a better judge of its value; and has rendered it no less useful to the public than if it had followed its original destination.

In 1791, Captain Mudge of the Royal Artillery, and Mr. Dalby, who has been already mentioned, both well qualified for the work they were to undertake, had the care of the trigonometrical survey committed to them, and received their instructions from the Master-General of the Ordnance. They began by the remeasurement of the base on Hounslow-Heath with the new steel chain (of the same nature with the former, but somewhat improved), and found its length, as before stated, two inches and three quarters greater than when measured with the glass rods. The chain was here reduced, as it had been before, to the temperature of 62°, Captain Mudge having previously ascertained, by a series of experiments made with the chain extended at its full length, and stretched with a considerable weight, that it lengthened 0.0075 of an inch for one degree of heat, on Fahrenheit's thermometer, which agrees well with General Roy's determination of the same by means of the pyrometer.

As a series of triangles was now to be carried from Hounslow Heath to the coast of Kent and Sussex, and from thence westward to the Land's-End, it was thought right to measure another base of verification on Salisbury-Plain. This was done with all the precautions used in the former measurements; the length of the line was found to be 36574.4 feet; and when this was connected by a series of triangles with the base on Hounslow-Heath, and its length deduced from this last by trigonometrical calculation, it did not differ by more than an inch from the actual measurement as here set down. This singular coincidence was a sufficient proof of the accuracy with which the two bases and the angles of the connecting triangles had been measured.

One of the principal objects now in view, was of importance both in general geography, and in the topography of England. This was the measurement of a degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian, for which two stations on the coast of the Channel, Beachy-Head in Sussex, and Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, afforded a good opportunity, being visible from one another in fine weather, though more than 64 miles distant, and the line between them being not far from the direction of east and west. The distance between the two stations just mentioned, as deduced from a mean of four different series of triangles, is 339397 feet (= 64.28 miles); and it is remarkable, that the extremes of these four determinations do not, even in so long a line, differ more than seven feet from one another: but coincidences of this sort are frequent in the trigonometrical survey, and prove how much more good instruments, used by skilful and attentive observers,

are capable of performing, than the most sanguine theorist could have ever ventured to foretel. In two distances that were deduced from sets of triangles, the one measured by General Roy in 1787, the other by Major Mudge in 1794, one of 24.133 miles, and the other 38.688, the two measures agree within a foot as to the first distance, and 16 inches as to the second. Such an agreement, where the observers and the instruments were both different, where the lines measured were of such extent, and deduced from such a variety of *data*, is probably without any other example. We believe it is quite unnecessary to add, that these deductions are all made in the fairest and most unexceptionable manner, without any means being taken, purposely, to bring about a coincidence that would not have otherwise taken place.

Besides the determination of the distance from Dunnose to Beachy-Head, the azimuth or bearing of the line between them, with respect to the meridian, was carefully observed, by means of the pole-star, after the manner practised by General Roy. From these observations Major Mudge has drawn the following conclusions. At Beachy-Head, in latitude 50° 44′ 24″, the degree of longitude, measured on the above parallel, is 38718 fathoms; the degree of a circle perpendicular to the meridian 611832; the degree of the meridian itself in that latitude being taken at 60851 fathoms, as deduced from General Roy's measurement. From the lengths of these degrees of the meridian, and of the circle perpendicular to it, it follows, that if the earth be an ellipsoid, the diameter of the equator is to the polar axis as 149 to 148, which makes the inequality between these two lines more than twice as great as it appears to be by taking the most probable average, deduced from all the observations that have been made in different latitudes. What reason can be assigned for this peculiarity in the physical constitution of our island, seems impossible at present to explain, though the continuation of the Trigonometrical Survey may be expected to throw some light on it. Local causes may perhaps affect the direction of gravity in the south of England, and may make that country appear to be a portion of a smaller and more oblate spheriod than agrees with the general configuration of the earth's surface. Or perhaps too, as many have imagined, and as Major Mudge seems disposed to think, the figure of the earth is not a solid formed by the revolution of an ellipsis on its axis; and the agreement or disagreement of the measures of degrees with one another, is not to be judged of by their agreement or disagreement with this hypothesis. To attempt to judge of them in that manner, may be offering violence to nature, and may be

only trying to reconcile her phenomena with our conjectural or arbitrary theories.

From the prosecution of the Trigonometrical Survey we may expect a solution of these questions: the unexpectedness of the results makes the work more valuable to science; and as we are sure that the observations are accurate, the less they agree with our preconceived opinions the more interesting do they become, and the more likely are they to furnish important information.

It has already been observed, that Major Mudge deduced the results of his observations on a principle more accurate than General Roy, by reducing every angle measured with the theodolite to a plane passing through the three angular points of the triangle, and thus computing the chords instead of the arches themselves.

'As the lengths,' says he, 'of small arcs and their chords are nearly the same, it is evident that the calculations might be performed sufficiently near the truth in any extent of a series of triangles, by plane trigonometry, if the angles formed by the chords could be determined pretty exact. We have endeavoured to adopt this method in computing the sides of the principal triangles, in order to avoid an arbitrary correction of the observed angles, as well as that of reducing the whole extent of the triangles to a flat, which evidently would introduce erroneous results, and these in proportion as the series of triangles extended.' Vol. I. p. 271.

Now, concerning the method of calculation here referred to, we must observe, that though it is certainly much preferable to that which supposes the triangles to be all spread out over one flat surface, and is not liable to any considerable inaccuracy, yet is it much more complex and operose than one which we have already pointed out as being derived from Le Gendre's theorem, that the arches which form the sides of small spherical triangles, are proportional to the sines of the opposite angles, when each of these angles is diminished by the third part of the *spherical excess*. By means of this proposition, the sides themselves may be directly computed, and the investigation of the chords avoided as unnecessary. From this it also appears, that the correction made on the observed angles, by taking from each of them one third of the spherical excess, can be no longer viewed as an *arbitrary correction*, but as a legitimate and necessary inference from a geometrical theorem extremely curious in itself as it marks the *continuity* of plane and spherical triangles; and extremely valuable, as it leads to the most accurate and simple rules of calculation. Though it is a theorem that, in strictness, is only an approximation to the truth, yet its accuracy, in all such cases as can come under consideration in a survey of any portion of the earth's surface, may be safely relied on, the quantities which it rejects being then really evanescent.

In reducing the observed angles in the manner of Major Mudge, (which is also that of De Lambre), there is always the inconvenience of an operose and unnecessary *calculus*, and, in certain cases, such as the computation of the distances of the stations from the meridian or the perpendicular to it, it is not quite evident but that inaccuracies of some consequence may be introduced. If, on the other hand, in the solution of this last problem, since the hypothenuse and one of the oblique angles of a right-angled triangle are given to find the sides; if we first calculate the spherical excess, and proceed to find the other oblique angle by making the sum of it and the given angle $= 90° +$ that excess; if we then subtract one third of the spherical excess from each of these oblique angles, and, with the angles so corrected, compute the sides by the rules of plane trigonometry; we shall obtain them with great ease, and with all the precision that the problem admits of. It would seem, then, that this last method of calculation is greatly preferable to the former.

We are perfectly aware of the caution with which theoretical men, sitting quietly in their closets, should offer advice to those who add the practice of art to the speculation of science; who sacrifice ease and comfort to literary pursuits, and earn their reputation not merely by deep study, but by the sweat of the brow and the labour of the hands. We feel the full force of this maxim, and are writing at the present moment under the strongest impression of its truth. Yet, when we venture to recommend the method of calculation just described, as fit to be employed in the trigonometrical survey, we are not much afraid that the person best able, and most interested to judge correctly on that subject, after making the trial, will be inclined to censure our rashness.

The length to which these remarks have already extended, forces us to pass over the operations of several of the subsequent years when the survey was carried westward as far as the Land's End, and again eastward to the remaining part of Kent, to Essex and the interior of the country, Oxfordshire, &c. Though these accounts are interesting from the importance of the places surveyed, and particularly from the drawing of four different meridians, and the determination of their difference of longitude, we shall pass to the consideration of the last thing performed in the survey, which is the measure of an arch of the meridian between Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, and Clifton near Doncaster. For the purpose of this measurement, Major Mudge was furnished with a new instrument, of the workmanship of Ramsden, viz. a zenith sector for the celestial observations, which were now required to be made with the greatest possible exactness. Though

several instruments of this kind have been constucted by former artists, and many of them excellent, yet that which we have just mentioned seems greatly superior to them all. In it, the defects of former construction is obviated, and many new improvements introduced. Among these must be reckoned the method of suspending the instrument, of bringing it into the vertical plane, of turning it to face opposite ways, and, most of all, the contrivance for adjusting the plumb-line perpendicularly over the centre of the sector, in which the skill of the optician and the mechanist are eminently combined. The instrument is supported by a strong pyramidal frame; the telescope is an achromatic, eight feet long; the radius of the sector is nearly the same; and the angles measured on its limb may be read off to decimals of a second. The whole is a masterpiece of original design and skilful execution; and to its intrinsic value adds that of being almost the last work of an artist who was never equalled by those who went before him, and will not soon be surpassed by those who shall come after.

The meridian of Dunnose, in the Isle of Wight, was pitched on by Major Mudge to be extended northward, as affording a better opportunity than any other of measuring on it a large arch, free, as far as could be foreseen, from the action of any disturbing force. The meridians farther to the west, though they might be produced to a greater length before they reached the sea, entered sooner into a mountainous, or at least a hilly country, where the direction of gravity must be affected by the inequalities of the surface. The meridian of Dunnose, traversing the plains of Hampshire, Berkshire, &c. and so on to Yorkshire, intersects the sea-coast near the mouth of the Tees, without having passed over any high land, except on the confines of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, near the sources of the Nen and the Avon, where the ground rises to the height of 800 or 900 feet above the level of the sea, with a gradual slope both to the south and to the north. The part of this line which has been actually measured, extends from Dunnose to Clifton, not far from Doncaster, a distance of more than 196 miles, the length of which was determined by a series of triangles carried from one end of it to the other, like those that have been already mentioned. The sides of these triangles were deduced from the bases on Hounslow-heath and Salisbury-plain, as in other parts of the survey; but, for the greater security, another base of about five miles was measured on Misterton Car, near the northern extremity of the chain of triangles; and this was done with the same precautions which have been before enumerated. The latitude of Dunnose and Clifton were then ac-

curately determined by the sector, from stars near the zenith, observed in their passage over the meridian. The instrument was also carried to Ardbury-hill (near Daventry in Northamptonshire), not far from the middle of the line, the latitude of which was also exactly determined. Besides this, as Blenheim was not far distant from this meridian, and as its parallel of latitude had been accurately determined by the DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, from a series of observations made with the best instruments, the intersection of this parallel with the meridian, could be fixed with accuracy, and gave of course another subdivision, both of the geodetical distance and the celestial arch. The same was done with respect to the parallel of Greenwich; and thus, besides the total length of the meridian line from Dunnose to Clifton, there were given three intermediate points in that line, with the distances between them, and also the amplitudes of the corresponding arches in the heavens. From the comparison of all these determinations, some curious and unexpected conclusions have been deduced.

1. The entire length of the meridian line, from Dunnose to Clifton, is 1036337 feet, or 196.29 miles; the latitude of Dunnose being 50° 37′ 8″.21, and the arch between its zenith and that of Clifton 2° 50′ 23″. 68. Hence, the length of a degree in the middle between these places, or in lat. 52° 2′ 20″. is 60820 fathoms.

2. In the same way, by computing the length of a degree for the middle latitude between Ardbury-hill and Dunnose, viz. 51 35′ 18″, it is found equal to 60864 fathoms. This is 44 fathoms greater than the former, though, being about 27′ more to the south, it ought, according to every notion of the earth's oblate figure, to be several fathoms less.

Comparing, in like manner, the distance between Ardbury-hill and Clifton with the arch intercepted by their zeniths, the degree in the latitude of 52° 50′ 30″ is 60766 fathoms, which is less than either of the former, though, by being a good deal farther to the north, it ought to be considerably greater.

4. The intersections of the parallels of Blenheim and Greenwich with this meridian, give results of the same kind, all tending to shew that the degrees diminish on going from the south to the north, though not regularly, nor according to any law yet known. These inconsistencies are very striking, when it is considered that, on the supposition of the earth being compressed at the poles, the degrees of the meridian must go on increasing as we proceed northward, and in our latitudes nearly at a uniform rate, each degree exceeding that immediately to the south of it by about twenty fathoms, according to the

theories that make the earth's oblateness the greatest, and about ten, according to those which make it the least.

To whatever cause these irregularities are to be attributed, it cannot be, we are well convinced, to the inaccuracy of the observations. The probable limits of such inaccuracy are considered by Major Mudge himself; and though he estimates them as very small, yet, by any one who has carefully studied the observations themselves, and remarked their closeness to one another, he will not be thought to have diminished them more than the circumstances authorised him to do.

He states it as his opinion, after a reexamination of all his *data*, that the extreme of the error in the measurement of the whole distance, though nearly 197 miles, is not more than 100 feet, answering to about 1″ of a degree, and that the probable error does not exceed one half of that quantity. In the determination of the celestial arch he does not state so precisely his estimation of the error, or the limits within which it is contained; but, taking in the multitude, and the agreement of the observations, we should imagine that at any one station it can hardly amount to a second. It is therefore to the action of some external cause affecting the direction of the plumb-line; that the irregularities above stated are to be ascribed. 'I am disposed,' says the Major, 'to believe that the plumb-line was drawn towards the south from the action of matter, both at the northern extremity of the arch and at Ardbury-Hill; but more particularly at the first mentioned station.'—'The general tenor of the observations seems to prove that the plumb-line of the sector has been drawn toward the south at all the stations, and that by attractive forces, which increase as we proceed northward.' From what physical cause this attraction proceeds, from what circumstance in the structure or formation of the island, he does not offer any conjecture, neither shall we presume to do so. The continuation of the meridian to the north will probaby throw some farther light on this interesting subject.

It is, however, material to be observed, that when the degrees are irregular, as they appear to be here, the magnitude of the middle degree between two given latitudes is not rightly found, by dividing the terrestial distance by the celestial arch. This process is only correct on the supposition that the degrees increase or decrease in arithmetical progression, or at an uniform rate; if they vary according to any other law whatever, the degree found by the above operation will not be the degree in the middle point of the arch. This caution is necessary to be attended to, if we would deduce from the observations no more

than what necessarily follows from them. It may be farther remarked, that in the doubt we are in about the figure of the earth, whether it be a solid of revolution, and whether different meridians may not be unequal and dissimilar curves, it may be questioned whether the places on one meridian can be safely reduced to another, by the supposed intersections of their parallels with this last; and whether by supposing such reduction, as when the observatories of Greenwich and Blenheim are placed on the meridian of Dunnose, we do not complicate the question unnecessarily by the introduction of a new and unknown element. The distances of these places to the eastward of the meridian being but small, it is indeed probable that, in the present case, any error introduced by them must be very inconsiderable; but it is at least right to be apprised of the possibility of its existence.

Though we have no doubt that irregularities, which are at present so difficult to be accounted for, will, by the prosecution of the subject, become perfectly explained, we confess that we have felt some disappointment on reflecting, that hitherto the more that has been done to ascertain the figure of the earth by the measurement of degrees, the less satisfactory, in some respects, has our knowledge of it become. The more microscopically we have observed, the more irregularities we have discovered; and in the last experiment, which may be justly reckoned the best, what is accounted the natural order of things, has been almost completely inverted. All this, however, is only a motive for continuing the research, which, if prosecuted with skill and perseverance, must ultimately lead to the knowledge of the truth. The time was when the planetary motions were involved in the same confusion, and seemed the more unaccountable and perplexed, the more carefully they were studied. We may hope for the same issue in both cases; and that the figure of the earth will one day be as perfectly known as the orbit of a planet.

In such circumstances we may congratulate the public, or those, at least, who are interested in the progress of science, on the continuance of the Trigonometrical Survey of England, notwithstanding the long and expensive wars in which the country has been engaged since the commencement of it. The expence of the Survey, indeed, is of little moment, compared with the object to be attained by it; but in all times of difficulty, and in all plans of economy, the indulgences most intellectual and scientific are the first things to be sacrificed. It is to the credit of Government that it has been so far otherwise in the present instance.

A reflection naturally called forth by the contemplation of so much accuracy as is displayed in the whole of the work now un-

der our review, is, how much slower the mathematical arts have advanced than the mathematical sciences. Though the former were no doubt the first to start in the progress of improvement, they appear to have fallen behind almost from the first outset. The rude manner in which Archimedes measured the apparent diameter of the sun is well known; and while that great geometer was investigating the properties of the sphere and cylinder with an acuteness and depth that have been the admiration of all succeeding ages, he was resolving one of the simplest problems of practical astronomy, in a more inaccurate manner than would be suffered in an ordinary seaman of modern times. When the great problem of measuring the circumference of the earth was first thought of, the principle upon which the solution was attempted was perfectly scientific, and the same, in fact, with that which we have just been considering; but the execution, though in the hands of able mathematicians, was *slovenly* and inaccurate in the extreme. The academiacins of modern Europe have traversed the globe, from the equators to the polar circle, in order to resolve this great problem, and are still labouring hard, as we have seen, to give perfect accuracy to their conclusions. The academicians of Greece and Egypt put themselves to no such inconveniency. Eratosthenes, when he engaged in the enquiry, never quitted his observatory; but having measured the sun's solstitial elevation at Alexandria, where he lived, he took for granted, on report, that on the same day the sun was in the zenith of Siene, being seen there from the bottom of a deep well. He also assumed, on no better authority, the distance and bearing of the two places, and, with such *data*, was not ashamed to say that he had computed the circumference of the earth.

At a much later period, our countryman Norwood set about determining the circumference of the earth, with an accuracy as much superior to that of the Greek geometer as it was inferior to that which has been the subject of the preceding remarks. Having determined the latitudes of London and York by observation he travelled from one place to the other, measuring along the high road with a chain, and taking the bearings with a compass. He was well satisfied with the accuracy of his work: 'When I measured not,' says he, '*I paced*, and I believe the experiment has come within a *scantling* of the truth.'

It is curious to compare these early essays of practical geometry with the perfection to which its operations have now reached, and to consider, that while the artist has made so little progress the theorist has reached many of the sublimest heights of mathematical speculation; that the latter had found out the area of the circle, and calculated its circumference to more than a hundred

places of decimals, when the former could hardly divide an arch into minutes of a degree; and that many excellent treatises had been written on the properties of curve lines, before a straight line, of considerable length, had ever been carefully drawn, or exactly measured on the surface of the earth.

ART. X. *An Account of the Present State of Medicine among the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.* By Thomas Winterbottom Physician to the Colony. 8vo. London, 1803.

THIS is the sequel of a publication which was noticed with approbation in a preceding article;* and we have perused the present volume with great ease and satisfaction. The medical information which it contains is not perhaps very original or important; but the author writes like a scholar, and a man of judgement and veracity, and in a style which is upon the whole so neat and amusing, that those who are too wise to be instructed by his performance, can scarcely refuse to be pleased.

The practice of medicine in Africa is in the hands of old women; and it is curious to observe, that almost all barbarous people, whether black or white, have thought themselves safest, when sick, in the management of superannuated and hard-featured females. They are, we will confess, somewhat less hard-hearted than males, and, in general, less frisky and inattentive than the youthful part of their own sex; but health is, in all stages of society, an object of so great importance, that even the union of these amiable qualities can scarcely account for its being entrusted to persons whom their sex must expose, among barbarians, to degredation and contempt. To us it appears most probable, that the chief, who was the leader, the judge, and the priest of his tribe, was also its original physician; and that, upon his death, this most domestic, and least enviable part of his prerogative, would be transferred to his widow, the confident of his secrets, and the partner of his consultations.

But, however this may be, it is certain that the learned dames of Sierra Leone consider most diseases as the work of evil spirits, and place more confidence in charms and propitiations, than in drugs or regimen. This, too, is an universal criterion of a rude and unenlightened period. In those days of ignorance, when first causes were entirely overlooked, and secondary frequently and

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* See Vol. III. p. 355.

wilfully misrepresented, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, or that wonderful property of animated being which enables it to conserve its own existence, to repel injurious *stimuli*, and to restore its diseased functions to the standard actions of health, contributed, perhaps more than any other circumstance whatever, to inspire the belief in, and establish the reputation of supernatural agency. The cause of uneasiness and its cure were easily confounded. For diseases produced by witchcraft, it was natural to seek a remedy from charms and incantations: and when these means were unsuccessfully resorted to, the mystic powers of superstition were called to their assistance. But the unaided operations of nature did not in all cases correspond with the expectations of the charmer, nor the credit of his profession; and the unfortunate patient, whose complaint might have been easily removed by opium, rhubarb, or mercury, was sent to the grave amidst the solemnities of astrology and magic. The gradual expansion of the human faculties at length gave birth to the spirit of observation and research. The analogy between natural *stimuli* and natural functions was observed and improved. Demoniac ceremonies vanished before the light of philosophy: and common sense finally prevailed over the dogmas of tradition and the rituals of enchantment. Such, in most countries, has been the origin and gradual evolution of medical knowledge. In Africa, we still behold it under the dominion of the powers of darkness; and we are afraid that the example and instructions of Dr. Winterbottom have not gone far in delivering the venerable practitioners of that continent from this unhappy bondage. Changes of this sort, indeed, are always effected very slowly; and the Doctor's design, at least in his book, has rather been to preserve a faithful account of the diseases and remedies of the natives, than to extirpate or reform them.

After a very well written introduction, Dr. Winterbottom proposes to consider his subject under three general divisions: 1*st*, General diseases to which both sexes are liable: 2*d*, The diseases of women, with the sexual peculiarities in Africa: 3*d*, The diseases and management of children. This distribution is simple and natural and may be conveniently adopted as the basis of African nosology. Had our author paid the same attention to the arrangement of his genera and species, his plan would have been unexceptionable: but all the subordinate divisions of the work are presented in a state of extraordinary and unaccountable disorder; and we cannot help being displeased, as well as disappointed, when we are hurried, without notice or pretext, from hernia to the coup de soleil, from the scurvy to the toothach, and from sore legs to dysentary, earach, &c. This is not only an offence against good taste, but a real obstruction to the utility of the

work; and, besides diminishing the beauty of the composition, it tends to disturb the attention, and confound the inferences of the reader.

The second chapter commences with the consideration of fever; and as the fevers of hot climates are a peculiarly important subject of inquiry, we cannot more effectually gratify our medical readers than by quoting the author's general observations upon them.

'Fever is the most frequent and most fatal disease to which Europeans are subject upon the coast: it is less common among the Africans, who also suffer less from its attacks. In them it is generally the sequel of a debauch, and very frequently follows the excessive intemperance in which they indulge at the funeral of their friends. It is a common remark among them, that one "*cry*" is generally followed by several others; for when any person of consequence dies several others fall sick, and often narrowly escape with their lives. Even this they attribute to witchcraft, though it evidently depends upon their own misconduct. They have no idea of the nature of fever as a general disease, nor have they any word in their language to express it, but name it from any of its urgent symptoms, as sick head, sick belly, &c. On that account it has been supposed that the Africans are not liable to the attacks of remittent fever: an opinion which is contrary to fact. It is not uncommon to see the natives affected with slight, but distinctly formed paroxysms of fever, which sometimes terminate within twenty-four hours, and are considered as common headachs. I have known instances where repeated paroxysms have occurred, and where the remittant fever has run its course precisely as it would have done in any European who had resided long upon the coast, and who, by undergoing the *seasoning*, as it is termed, had assimilated himself to the climate. It may not be improper here to remark, that what is termed *seasoning* among Europeans, an idea peculiar to themselves, implies merely the first severe fit of illness, chiefly fever, which a person suffers after his arrival in a tropical climate: succeeding attacks of fever are usually experienced in a slighter degree, though in this respect there is great difference, for some have repeated attacks as severe as the first. Those Europeans at Sierra Leone, who longest resisted the power of climate in producing sickness, suffered more, and were more dangerously affected, than those who sickened soon after their arrival. People of fair complexions appeared to be more liable to fever, and to suffer relapses from slighter causes than those of darker complexions: but they experienced, upon the whole, less severe attacks than the latter. From a few instances, it appeared that the climate was more inimical to men above forty-five than to those who were younger. Women enjoyed a tolerable state of health, nearly as good as in Europe; their complaints were in general less severe than those of the men, but the state of the convalescence was slower, and they were more liable to be harassed with symptoms of irritability or of euthism.'

Hence it appears that the Africans are not completely exempted from febrile indispositions, though, from their habits of temperance, and the hereditary suitableness of their constitutions to the climate, they are less liable to the attacks of this formidable tribe of diseases than Europeans. The effects of temperance as a prophylactic in the fevers of hot climates, is strikingly demonstrated in an 'Essay of Dr. Chisholm's on the Malignant Pestilential Fever introduced into the West Indian Islands from Bullom, on the coast of Guinea.' 'Whilst the pestilential fever raged here,' observes this gentleman, 'the utility of these means was remarkably illustrated by the almost total exemption of the French inhabitants from the disease. Their mode of living compared to the English is temperate and regular in an uncommon degree.' How long will Englishmen continue to assert this odious distinction at the expence of their lives and reputation!

In the treatment of febrile disorders, the practitioners of the country appear not to be governed in their indications by any general views of physiology or pathology. The painful symptoms are the sole objects of their attention; and these they attempt to remove by remedies which they deem peculiarly appropriate to the seat of the affection. The important functions of the stomach, the bowels and the skin seem to be totally neglected. The circulation obtains no abatement of its preternatural force from the aid of general phlebotomy. Cupping is the only mode of letting blood that is known or practised in inflammatory disease, and this is only resorted to as a relief from exquisite topical pain. Thirst is allayed by palatable acidulous drinks. Vomiting is alleviated or removed by draughts of a warm infusion of the common red pepper (capsicum). Cephalics comprehend a very numerous class of medicaments, consisting chiefly of aromatic vegetables. These are, for the most part, used in various forms of external application to the head. When the obstinacy of the symptom is not subdued by this impotent treatment, which we apprehend it seldom is, an ancient sister of the profession is called in, who relieves the pain, and at the same time the vessels of the head, by cupping on the temples. This operation is performed *secundem artem*, much in the same way as practised by European surgeons. 'It is the custom with some, when affected with headach, to lye upon the earth before a large fire, having a stone laid upon one side of the head.' How fertile is human ingenuity in expedients to increase the sum of human misery! Intermittents, we are informed, are diseases of very unfrequent occurrence on the coast of Africa. When, however, they do occur, their mode of cure consists in exciting a profuse perspiration. This is done by causing the patient to sit over a large vessel containing a warm decoction

of herbaceous vegetables. To prevent the escape, and to determine the application of the steam, he is covered from head to foot with a large cotton cloth. Dr. Winterbottom does not inform us how frequently this practice is successful, or what is the precise object of the practitioner in the employment of it. The intention is to excite perspiration. But in what manner is the fever supposed to be resolved by this treatment? Admirers, as we are, of facts and experience, yet we confess we should have been more gratified in the perusal of this volume, had the author more frequently blended his own observations and inferences with the hearsay information which he details, and the curative and pharmaceutic processes which he has occasionally witnessed among the natives.

Chapter III. contains ten dissimilar articles. As a sequal to a few remarks and quotations upon syphilitic affections, Dr. Winterbottom informs us, that the

—'Foolas and Mandingos are subject to a disease which they call laanda, of a very infectious nature, and which bears a striking resemblance to syphilis, though they consider them as essentially different. The laanda makes its appearance upon the glans or prepuce like a common chancre, but daily spreads, and in time destroys the substance of the flesh. Dangerous hæmorrhages frequently arise in consequence of erosion, and the disease sometimes affects the throat, destroying the nose and the bones of the palate.'

Not another word is added on the subject! Are women subject to this complaint? Is it communicated by the mere contact of any part of the body? What relation does it bear to fibbens, &c.? Are all cases curable if taken in proper time? Are the natives in possession of any secret antidotes; or do they rely, as in syphilis, upon the sanative powers of mercury alone? From an author who writes professedly upon the subject of African nosography, we have a right to expect a tolerable gratification of our curiosity upon every subject which he undertakes to treat.—But this is not the only instance we could point out of unpardonable brevity and omission in the history and treatment of African maladies.

In Chapter IV. we are presented with a full, and, as far as we are able to judge, an accurate account of elephantiasis. The case of Mamadoo Minnioo Casoo is a masterly piece of medico-historical composition. The chapter devoted to the history and treatment of the dracunculus or Guinea-worm deserves commendation. That the *vena medensis* is really a living animal does not appear, in our opinion, sufficiently established; though we must confess that we are much inclined to attach our creed upon this subject to that of our author.

The second part of the work, viz. The Diseases of Women,

with the Sexual Peculiarities in Africa, is recommended to our approbation more by its literary elegance than its novelty.

'The management of children in Africa,' says Dr. Winterbottom, 'is very simple; their diseases are also few, and of no great importance. Immediately after birth the infant is washed in warm water, or soap and water: this is continued for a few days, after which cold water only is used. During very hot weather, it is usual for the mother to throw a vessel of very cold water upon the child's head, two or three times a day, apparently to the satisfaction of the latter.'—'In order to strengthen a child born at the end of seven months, the mother takes every morning a mouthful of cold water, which she spirts upon the inside of the joints of the arms, wrists, knees, and successively those of the whole body, immediately after which the child is immersed in very cold water. This practice is repeated every morning until they suppose the child strong enough to bear the shock of cold water without any preparation.'

The author subjoins four appendices to his original plan. Appendix I. contains an interesting account of circumcision, as it is practised on the windward coast of Africa. No. II. a description of the bark of a species of tree called Bellenda. Several cases of intermittents are added, in which this Cortex Africanus, as it is called, was exhibited with success. We regret that we cannot add, from our own experience, to the list of respectable practitioners who have given it their sanction in this country. It is to be lamented that our author has confined his attention and experiments to this single article of pharmaceutic importance. Among the productions of Africa, we have no doubt there are still unknown many

> 'Herbs and potent trees, and drops of balm,
> Rich with the genial influence of the sun,
> To brace the nerveless arm, with food to win
> Sick appetite, or hush the unquiet breast.'

Dr. Winterbottom indeed seems to have paid very great attention to the African *names* of these 'herbs and potent trees.' Had he devoted the same time in learning their sensible and other properties, it would have been much more profitably spent. Or had he selected a few from the rude and undigested mass with which this volume is charged, and subjected them to pharmaceutic experiments, he would have deserved a still greater portion of the public thanks. Appendix, No. III. is entitled, 'Remarks suggested by the perusal of Mr. White's work on the Regular Gradation in Man.' Our author is a warm and able advocate for the primitive equality of human endowments. So temperately and effectually does he wield his weapons of controversy, that we know of no essay on the subject we could recommend to the perusal of the philanthropist with greater pleasure. An ingenious

extract upon the same subject, from a work of professor Blumenk, constitutes the fourth Appendix, and concludes the volume. We cannot take our leave of it without expressing our general approbation of its contents. The language is pure, unaffected, and classical. The matter, though not remarkable for its novelty, is never devoid of professional importance. The authorities that are quoted, which are very numerous, are invariably such as must give authenticity or embellishment to the facts that are related. Upon the whole, we may safely add, that, from a careful perusal of this little volume, the medical student will derive both information and delight, while the old practitioner, if we may judge from ourselves, will not lay it on his shelf without regretting its brevity.

ART. XI. *A Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England, and great Part of the Highlands of Scotland, including Remarks on English and Scotish Landscape, and General Observations on the State of Society and Manners.* Embellished with Sixteen Engravings by Messrs. Medland, &c. from Paintings made on purpose by Mr. Garrard. By Colonel T. Thornton of Thornville-Royal in Yorkshire. London, 1804.

IT is well known that the patriarch of Uz, exclaimed, in the midst of his afflictions, 'Oh that mine adversary had written a book!' This ardent exclamation of the man of patience has led the learned Rabbin Menachem-el-Rekenet, in the treatise entitled *Bâva Bâthra*, to suggest that the Arabian sage may have been a writer in the *Ammudeha Scibha* (the Critical Journal of Tadmor), or at least in the *Maarcoheth haelahuth* (or Mokha Monthly Review). Without deciding on this difficult point, we can only say that we have frequently sympathised with the Eastern sufferer, and now rejoice that our enemy has written a book. Why we impute this hostile character to the author of the Sporting Tour before us, requires some explanation.

The Reviewers of North Britain, in common with the other inhabitants of the Scotish metropolis, enjoy some advantages unknown, it is believed, to their southern brethren. We do not allude merely to the purer air which we breathe in our attics, and the more active exercise which we enjoy in ascending to them, although our superiority in these respects is well known to be in the proportion of fourteen stories to three. But we pride ourselves chiefly in this circumstance, that though 'in populous city pent' for eight months in the year, the happy return of Au-

gust turns the Reviewers, with the schoolboys, and even the Burghers of Edinburgh, adrift through the country, to seek among moors and lakes, not indeed *whom* but *what* they may devour: For some of us do (under Colonel Thornton's correction) know where to find a bit of game. On such occasions, even the most saturnine of our number has descended from his den garnished with the limbs of mangled authors, wiped his spectacles, adjusted his knapsack, and exchanged the critical scalping knife for the fishing-rod or fowling-piece. But we are doomed to travel in a *style* (to use the appropriate expression) far different from that of our worthy author. Having in our retinue nothing either to bribe kindness, or to impose respect—having neither two boats nor a sloop to travel by sea, nor a gig, two baggage-waggons, and God knows how many horses, for the land service—having neither draughtsman nor falconer, Jonas nor Lawson, groom nor boy,—having in our suite neither *Conqueror* nor *Plato*, nor *Dragon*, nor *Sampson*, nor *Death*, nor the *Devil*—above all, having neither crowns and half crowns to grease the fists of game-keepers and foresters, nor lime punch, incomparable Calvert's porter, flasks of champagne, and magnums of claret* to propitiate their superiors;—in fine, being accoutred in a rusty black coat, and attended by a pointer which might have belonged to the pack of the frugal Mr. Osbaldeston,† being moreover 'Lord of our presence but no land beside,' we have in *our* sporting tours met with interruptions of a nature more disagreeable than we chuse to mention. Hence the various oppressions exercised upon us by the *Lairds*‡ whose moors we have perambulated, has taught us to rail, with Jaques, against all the first-born of Egypt. And deeply have we often sworn, that if any of those gentlemen should be tempted to hunt across Parnassus, or the demesnes adjacent, or should be detected abandoning their only proper and natural vocation of pursuing, killing and eating the fowls of the air, the beasts of the earth, and the fishes in the waters under the earth, for the unnatural and unsquire-like employment of writing, printing, and publishing, we would then, in return for their lectures on the game laws, introduce them to an acquaintance with the canons of criticism. Such an opportunity of vengeance was rather however to be wished than hoped; and therefore Colonel Thornton was not more joyfully surprised when at Dalnacardoch he killed

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* All which Colonel Thornton says he had. In our mind he should have given God thanks, and made no boast of them.

† Who kept a pack of hounds and two hunters, not to mention a wife and six children, on sixty pounds a year.

‡ A variety of the squire-*genus*, found in Scotland.

a char with bait, than we were to detect a hunting, hawking English squire, poaching in the fields of literature. We therefore apprize Colonel Thornton that he must produce his license, and establish his qualification, or submit to the statutory penalty, *in terrorem* of all such offenders.

The Colonel's book is a journal of a tour through Scotland, which, like Agricola, he invaded by sea and land at once, and with a retinue almost as formidable. When twenty horses had conveyed the Colonel and his trusty followers from Yorkshire by Kelso to Edinburgh, and thence by Glasgow, Dumbarton and Loch-Lomond to Loch-Tay, and thence by Dunkeld to Raits in the forests of Strathspey, they there received news of the embarkation, consisting of a cutter deeply laden with stores and domestics, which had sailed from Hull to Forres, and had been twice saved by the presence of mind of an active housekeeper, who 'in spirit outvied the men,' p. 3. On the first occasion, she discovered a leak 'by the trickling of water in her cot.' Imputing it indeed to some other cause, she prudently gave no alarm till the same phenomenon occurred in another hammock; and on a second eventful occasion, it was she who made the signal of distress, by hoisting her white linen on the oar of the jolly boat, p. 72. After a long encampment in the moors, and after visiting Elgin and Gordon-Castle, the train went by Inverness and the forts to Iverary, thence to Dumbarton and to Edinburgh, and so home by the western road.

The performance is termed a Sporting Tour, not because it conveys to the reader any information new or old upon the habits of the animals unfortunate enough to be distinguished as *game*, nor even upon the modes to be adopted in destroying them *secundum artem*; but because it contains a long, minute, and prolix account of every grouse or blackcock which had the honour to fall by the gun of our literary sportsman—of every pike which gorged his bait—of every bird which was pounced by his hawks—of every blunder which was made by his servants—and of every bottle which was drunk by himself and his friends. Now this, we apprehend, exceeds the license given to sportsmen. We allow them all the pleasure which they can procure in an active and exhilarating amusement; nay, we permit them to rehearse the exploits of the field, lake and moor, as long as the audience are engaged in devouring and digesting the spoils of the campaign: but not one minute longer. Will Wimble himself, if we recollect rightly, began and finished his account of striking, playing and landing the huge jack he presented to Sir Roger de Coverley, within the time the company were engaged in eating it. And if a sportsman wishes to protract his narrative through *close-time*, we apprise him that he must provide for the auditors a reasonable

quantity of potted char, pickled salmon, jugged hare and deer-ham, or be satisfied with the attention of the Led Captain. For our own part, we may be believed when we protest we would have given a patient hearing to all the Colonel's exploits if we had been admitted to partake of the dinner in his Dulnon camp, of which the following bill of fare, with many others, is given us with laudable accuracy.

'A hodge podge,
REMOVE.
Boiled trout and salmon,
Rein-deer's tongue,
Cold fowl,
Brandered moor-game.
SAUCES.
Garlick, and Capsicum vinegars.
REMOVE.
Cheshire cheese,
Moor-game gizzards,
Biscuits.
Liquors—Port, Imperial, Jamaica rum punch, with fresh limes, Porter, ale, &c.' p. 129.

Had we been fortunate enough to be regaled at this table in the wilderness, we would willingly and most conscientiously have listened to every story in the Colonel's quarto—we would have caressed Pero, Ponto, Dargo, Shandy, Carlo and Romp, p. 151,—we would have wondered at the old cock and five polts which the Colonel killed out of one covey; and wondered still more at the monstrous great pike, which was five feet four inches in length, (p. 86,) although the story be a good half hour's reading. Nor would we have refused to sympathise in the moving reverses of fortune, experienced by this emperor of sportsmen. We would have been sorry when he fired away his ramrod, or bruised the pipe so, that he could not return it (p. 151,)—sorry when his tent tumbled down about his ears (p. 154,)—very sorry when a drunken ferryman jumped upon and broke the fourth piece of his fishing-rod (p. 52,)—and very sorry indeed, when he rubbed the skin off his heel by the hard seam of his fen-boot. Nay, if the repast could possibly have lasted so long, we should have submitted thankfully to gape and mourn over a gig stuck on a gate-post (p. 33,) over a broken trace or spring (p. 30,) or over Sampson, the marvel of the Highlands, *abimé* (as the Colonel calls it), in a bog, though upwards of seventeen hands and a half high (p. 73.) In short, we aver, that, while our mouths were employed, our ears should always have been open, and that, reviewers though we be, no hawk he ever reclaimed should have been more *manny*.* But at present we are

* A term in falconry (Colonel Thornton informs us), for being gentle and well broken.

under no obligation either to be good listeners or courteous readers; for the Colonel, by the mode in which he has been pleased to communicate the above important incidents, has outraged every privilege of those to whom such valuable information is conveyed. To stuff a quarto with his personal exploits of shooting and fishing, all detailed with the most unmerciful prolixity, is a tyranny surpassing that of William Rufus, who, though he turned his liege subjects out of their houses to make a park, did not propose they should pay £1 15s. for the history of his huntings—a proceeding which, in our opinion, would have justified an insurrection against Nimrod himself.

We have already said we do not find any thing in Colonel Thornton's book which is very new, even in his own department. The following improvement upon fishing a lake, by hooks attached to a float may amuse the sportsman.

'In order to describe this mode of fishing, it may be necessary to say, that I make use of pieces of *cork*, of a conical form, and having several of these all differently painted, and named after favourite hounds, trifling wagers are made on their success, which rather adds to the spirit of the sport.

'The mode of baiting them is, by placing a live bait, which hangs at the end of a line, of one yard and a half long, fastened only so slightly, that on the pike's striking, two or three yards more may run off, to enable him to gorge his bait. If more line is used, it will prevent the sport that attends his diving and carrying under water the hound; which being thus pursued in a boat, down wind (which they always take), affords very excellent amusement; and where pike, or large perch, or even trout, are in plenty, before the hunters, if I may so term these fishers, have run down the first pike, others are seen coming towards them, with a velocity proportionable to the fish that is at them.

'In a fine summer's evening, with a pleasant party, I have had excellent diversion; and it is, in fact, the most adapted, of any, for ladies, whose company gives a *gusto* to all parties.' Note, p. 27.

This amusement may appear a little childish. Nor will some scrupulous sportsmen greatly approve of the recipe for making birds *lye*, by flying a hawk over them—a mode of shooting most murderously bloody. Other Highland hunters will observe, with indignation, that the Colonel expresses a dislike of the manly amusement of deer-stalking. But these are trivial objections.—What shall we say of the tone in which the Colonel speaks of his guns, his rods, his dogs, his hawks, his servants, his draughtsman, his friends, his fresh eggs, marmalade and currant jelly;—what of the importance he annexes to the breaking of a buckle, or wetting of a powder-flask; what of the General Orders, regularly issued with military precision, and as regularly inserted in the journal! In sooth, we will content ourselves with copying

the Colonel's own account of a Highland dancingmaster presiding at a ball at Dalmally.

—'But I shall never forget the arrogance of the master: his mode of marshalling his troops, his directions, and other manœuvres, were truly ridiculous: he felt himself greater than any adjutant disciplining his men, and managed them much in the same manner.'

We mean no invidious comparison; but Colonel Thornton, who piques himself on the pomp and circumstance annexed to a capital sportsman, admits the poor dancingmaster's merit in his proper department, and that he danced the Highland fling with the true 'Glen Orgue (he means Glenorchy) kick;' and we question whether the annals of his school might not afford as important and amusing information as the following specimen, taken at random from the Colonel's journal—

'We ordered dinner, as we had done the preceding day, early. Tired of sitting in doors, I took my gun, and killed, hobbling about, two brace of snipes, and was returning home, when one of the pointers made a very steady point. I perceived by his manner that it was not a snipe: came up to him, was backed by the other dog, and they footed their game. I apprehended it would prove black game, not that I had seen any near here, but could not conceive what it could be, till coming into some thinly dispersed, but stinted alders, they both made their point complete; a wild duck flushed, which I fired at, and saw drop. The dogs still maintained their point as usual; and, walking on to pick up the duck, lest he should get into the drains and give me some trouble to recover him, another rose, with which I was equally successful with my other barrel.' p. 100.

We were much amused with the Colonel's recommendation to sportsmen, to keep one set of dogs for themselves, another to lend to their friends, p. 163. It reminds us of a gentleman who kept a case of razors for the use of those who unexpectedly spent the night in his house:—it was astonishing how deeply his friends deprecated the hospitality of the *stranger's razor.* We must not omit to mention, that the Colonel takes due care decently to intimate his success in a sport to which all sportsmen are partial, from Abyssinian Bruce, who hunted elephants mounted on a brown horse, to the most sorry poacher that ever shot a hare at a gate by moon-light. Yet a more fastidious gallant would have disclaimed to form designs upon 'a *wizen'd* and smoke-dryed Highland woman, upwards of forty-five years old,' p. 128; nor do we agree in his compliments to the unparalleled *silver* hair of a young lady, elsewhere and more respectfully mentioned: either the Colonel's veneration for age must be extreme, or he valued the tresses of this Highland damsel for the same reason that he admired the fur of the white hare.

We do not intend to trace the Colonel through his tour, in

which we must remark that there is scarcely a Gaelic name properly spelled. Nay, even on the plain ground of the Lowlands, he makes strange blunders. He talks of fishing in the *Teviot* at Mindrum-Mill, p. 13, when, in fact, he was at least ten miles distant from that river, which he seems to have confounded with the Bowmont, a stream that is not even tributary to the Teviot, but falls into the Till. In like manner, he talks of those 'uncommonly beautiful hills the Teviot,' meaning, we think, the Cheviot mountains, p. 14. Surely this accomplished sportsman has heard of Chevy Chase. In point of style, we thing a bold British fox-hunter might have dispensed with many unnecessary French terms, as *pallette* for pallet, *metier* for art, *jessois* for jesses, and, instead of 'reckoning, as the French express it, *sans son hote*,' might not the Colonel have 'reckoned without his host, as we say in England?'

The descriptions of the Highland landscapes which the Colonel met with on his route are very similar to what are usually found in books of the kind, abounding in all the *slang* by which tourists delight to describe what can never be understood from description. The accounts of abbeys, castles, antiquities, &c. are bolstered out by quotations from Pennant and Gray. Indeed, whole pages are borrowed from the former, without either shame or acknowledgment. The poetical scraps introduced are in general from well known authors, though the following, for ought we know, may be original:

> 'See the bold falconers strain up the lingy steep,
> Dash through the junipers, down the valley sweep;
> Not half so swift the trembling doves can fly,
> When the fierce falcon cleaves the liquid sky.' p. 130.

We would like to know from a hawker of Colonel Thornton's high fame, whether falconers do actually run faster than pigeons fly; and, if they do, whether it be absolutely necessary that the verse should halt for it. We have only to add, that the engravings from Mr. Garrard's designs are pretty; and we hope this tribute of praise will console that gentleman for the fatigues of a journey, performed like those of Mad Tom 'on high trotting horses,' which, according to Colonel Thornton, is the appropriate conveyance of an artist. By the way, we do not recognise Colonel Thornton's humanity (elsewhere displayed in saving a servant's life, and in attention to diminish the torture of his wounded game) in his treatment of Mr. Garrard, whom, after 'gently reproaching him for his timidity, he persuaded to follow to a stone overhanging precipice, where, had his foot slipped, it would have been his last sketch.'

We bid adieu to Colonel Thornton in nearly the words of Shakespeare—

'Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;
Between two blades, which bears the better temper;
Between two horses, which doth bear him best;
Between two girls, which hath the merrier eye;
He hath, perhaps, *no* shallow spirit of judgement.'

But whether those accomplishments will qualify him to delight or instruct the public as a writer, is a point which we willingly leave to his reader's determination.

ART. XII. *Miscellaneous Plays.* By Joanna Baillie. London. Longman Hurst Rees & Orme. 8vo. pp. 438. 1804.

IN a former article* we took the liberty of expressing our disapprobation of the plan which Miss Baillie had announced, of dramatising the whole mental nosology, by composing a tragedy and a comedy upon each of the passions of the human mind. Though we were not so sanguine as to hope that Miss Baillie would be converted by our arguments, we will confess that they produced a strong conviction in our own minds, and that we did not expect to be soon compelled to retract or disavow them. The perusal of this volume, however, has very nearly overset all our conclusions. It contains three plays, not written on the plan to which we have objected, and so decidedly inferior to those which the same writer had produced in pursuance of that plan, that we cannot help regretting that she should ever have thought of abandoning it. We look upon the present publication, indeed, as by far the most convincing argument that could possibly have been devised for justifying her original project; and, as the writer takes care to intimate that, in spite of this little deviation, she has no sort of intention to relinquish it, we cannot help suspecting that she had some view of this sort in the composition.

The plays in this volume consist of two tragedies and a comedy; and the fair writer, in the preface, is particularly earnest in requesting that her reader would lay down the book at the end of each play, and only take it up again after the lapse of several days. With the first part of this request we are inclined to think that many will be induced to comply, who would consider the second as unreasonable; and 'hardly, as Miss Baillie assures us, she must think herself treated by the refusal,' we are bound in conscience to acknowledge that we have disregarded the whole petition and read the volume from beginning to end at a single sitting. In palliation of this offence, we may be permitted per-

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* Vol. II. p. 269.

haps to observe that the injunction does not seem in perfect consistency with some of the other statements in her introduction. The reader is first directed to pause so long after every play, as may enable him to proceed to the next with the same feelings as if it had stood first in the collection: and then he is informed, that the comedy is placed between the two tragedies, that he may enjoy 'a little flickering of the sunbeams as he passes from one sombre gloom to another.' Indeed, the only motive which Miss Baillie's modesty allows her to state for having published the said comedy, is this humane anxiety to support the spirits of her reader under these tragical impressions; from which, however, she insists upon their being perfectly recovered before they are allowed to apply to the antidote.

The first play is entitled 'Rayner,' and was written, we are happy to find, many years ago. Miss Baillie cannot possibly write a tragedy, nor an act indeed of a tragedy, without showing genius, and exemplifying a more dramatic conception and expression than any of her modern competitors; but she is always deficient in the conduct of her fable, and frequently injudicious in the selection of the incidents upon which it is made to depend. We cannot conceive any thing more unhappily imagined than the story of Rayner, nor any thing more completely trite and puerile than the incidents by which it is unfolded. If Miss Baillie had not previously achieved a very high reputation as a dramatic writer, we should have been inclined, after perusing this production, to say that nothing at all approaching to excellence could ever be expected from a writer who could build up a tragedy on a series of such miserable common-places.

Rayner is a gallant young soldier; of a thoughtless and improvident disposition, like all heroes of romance; who falls into low spirits, because an old uncle, from whom he had great expectations, is induced to disinherit him, and leave all his fortune to an artful legacy-hunter called Hubert. In this mood, he is introduced to a band of gentlemen robbers, commanded by Count Zatterloo, who are as merry and jovial as fabulous banditti have always been bound to be since the publication of Gil Blas, or earlier. These free spirits propose to murder poor Hubert next night, as he passes through a wood with a variety of portmanteaus containing his ill-got legacy; and Rayner, after several compunctious visitings of nature, is finally determined, by his landlord's importunity about the reckoning, to take a share in the enterprise. With this laudable intention, he repairs with his new associates next night to the wood, where there is, of course, a great deal of thunder and lightning. In the storm, he is separated from the gang, and, losing his way, wanders, as was naturally to have been conjectured, into the cell of a hermit, who turns out to have been

a murderer in his day also, and terrifies his visitor into penitence by the sight of the terrors and agonies of his remorse. In the mean time, the report of fire-arms leads him to fear that the deed is done without him, and he rushes out to assure himself of the truth. The robbers, better versed in such perilous circumstances, after finishing their job make their escape; but poor Rayner is soon caught by certain officers of justice, carried before the magistrate, tried, and condemned to die. In prison he is visited, besides the chaplain in ordinary, by an affectionate damsel of the name of Elizabeth, to whom he had been betrothed, and by an old General, who takes a vast affection for him, and makes many unsuccessful attempts to procure his pardon. But the most fortunate circumstance that occurs during his confinement, is an acquaintance he contrives to scrape up with an African prince, who officiated as a pot-boy in the prison, and was very harshly used by the jailors and debtors, on account of his unfortunate propensity to tippling. Rayner, one cold evening, detects this illustrious personage in the act of stealing his cloak, and generously makes him a present of it; prudently considering, that as he was himself to be beheaded next morning, it could not be of much more use to him. The sable chieftain is filled with so much gratitude for this unexpected donation, that he slips out before daylight, and cunningly saws half through the platform, on which the executioner is to mount before giving the fatal stroke. The consequences of this ingenious device are obvious. The last officer of the law tumbles down on the pavement, to the vast satisfaction of the spectators; and bumps his head so terribly on the stones, that the execution is necessarily delayed till one of his apprentices can be sent for. In the nick of time comes a messenger from Count Zaterloo, who had been sadly wounded in the affray, confessing that he alone was guilty of the murder, and that Rayner was not so much as present at its perpetration. Upon this he is immediately declared not guilty (though it is perfectly plain that he ought to have been hanged as an accessory before the fact,) marries Elizabeth, and is consoled for the loss of his uncle's fortune, by the old General's promise to make him his heir. This is the main story. There are some moral scenes with Count Zaterloo, illustrating the bad effects of excessive parental indulgence, and the ingratitude of kept mistresses.

Out of such incidents as these, our readers will probably allow that it would not be easy to make a good tragedy. We certainly are not inclined to bestow this appellation upon Rayner; but when we consider the materials upon which she had to work, we are rather surprised that Miss Baillie should have been able to make out so many good speeches and passable scenes as we have met with. There are some impressive touches in the scene be-

tween Rayner and the penitent hermit in the forest, and a considerable power of pathetic representation in his first meeting with Elizabeth on his way to the prison. The best scenes perhaps are those which pass between the lovers after his condemnation. We shall venture upon a few extracts.

'*Rayner.* Thou sayest well, my sweet Elizabeth;
In this I have against thy love offended.
But in the brightness of fair days, in all
The careless gaiety of unruffled youth,
Smiling like others of thy sex, I loved thee;
Nor knew that thou wert also form'd to strive
With the braced firmness of unyielding virtue
In the dark storms of life—alike to flourish
In sunshine or in shade.—Alas! alas!
It was the thoughts of seeing thee—But cease!
The die is cast; I'll speak of it no more:
The gleam which shews to me thy wond'rous excellence
Glares also on the dark and lowering path
That must our way divide.

'*Eliz.* O no! as are our hearts, our way is one,
And cannot be divided. Strong affection
Contends with all things, and o'ercometh all things.

'*Rayner.* Alas, my love! these are thy words of woe,
And have no meaning but to speak thy woe:
Dark fate hangs o'er us, and we needs must part
The strong affection that o'ercometh all things,
Shall fight for us indeed, and shall o'ercome:
But in a better world the vantage lies
Which it shall gain for us: here, from this earth
We must take different roads and climb to it,
As in some pitiless storm two 'nighted travellers
Lose on a wild'ring heath their 'tangled way,
And meet again.

'*Eliz.* Ay, but thy way, thy way, my gentle Rayner—
It is a terrible one.
Oh flesh and blood shrinks from the horrid pass!
Death comes to thee, not as he visiteth
The sick man's bed, pillow'd with weeping friends:
O no! nor yet as on the battle's field
He meets the blood-warm'd soldier in his mail,
Greeting him proudly.—Thou must bend thy neck,
This neck round which mine arms now circled close
Do feel the loving warmth of youthful life:
Thou must beneath the stroke—O horrid! horrid!

'RAYNER *(supporting her from sinking to the ground).*
'My dear Elizabeth, my most belov'd!
Thou art affrighted with a horrid picture

By thine own fancy trac'd; look not upon it:
All is not dreadful in the actual proof
Which on th' approach frowns darkly.' p. 78-80.

Afterwards when the old general expresses his intention to solicit for a pardon, Elizabeth throws herself at his feet, and says,

'*Eliz.* We ask not liberty; we ask but life.
O grant us this, and keep us where they will,
Or as they will. We shall do no disquiet.
O let them grant us life, and we will bless them!
'*Rayner.* And wouldst thou have me live, Elizabeth,
Forlorn and sad, in lothly dungeon pent,
Kept from the very use of mine own limbs,
A poor, lost, caged thing?
'*Eliz.* Would not I live with thee? would not I cheer thee?
Wouldst thou be lonely then? wouldst thou be sad?
I'd clear away the dark unwholesome air,
And make a little parlour of thy cell.
With cheerful labour eke our little means,
And go abroad at times to fetch thee in
The news and passing stories of the day.
I'd read thee books: I'd sit and sing to thee:
And every thing would to our willing minds
Some observation bring to cheer our hours.
Yea, ev'n the varied voices of the wind
O' winter nights would be a play to us.
Nay, turn not from me thus, my gentle Rayner!
How many suffer the extremes of pain,
Ay, lop their limbs away, in lowest plight
Few years to spend upon a weary couch
With scarce a friend their sickly draughts to mingle!
And dost thou grudge to spend thy life with me?
'*Rayner.* I could live with thee in a pitchy mine;
In the cleft crevice of a savage den,
Where coils the snake, and bats and owlets roost.
And cheerful light of day no entrance finds.
But wouldst thou have me live degraded also;
Humbled and low? No, liberty or nought
Must be our boon.' p. 85-7.

Though all this part of the play brings strongly to our recollection the prison scenes in Measure for Measure, yet we think Miss Baillie has succeeded in her attempt to combine, in the character of Rayner, a great deal of warlike gallantry, and of thoughtless and active courage, with a considerable horror and dread for the solemn approach of certain and inevitable death. In one passage he says to the priest,

'*Rayner.* Death is to me an awful thing; nay Father,
I fear to die. And were it in my power,

By suffering of the keenest racking pains,
To keep upon me still these weeds of nature,
I could such things endure, that thou wouldst marvel,
And cross thyself to see such coward bravery.
For oh! it goes against the mind of man
To be turn'd out from its warm wonted home,
Ere yet one rent admits the winter's chill.' p. 91.

We add also the following soliloquy, supposed to be spoken on the night before his execution. The thoughts are not new: but there is, along with some heaviness, considerable force of conception and expression.

Rayner. This bell speaks with a deep and sullen voice:
The time comes on apace with silent speed.
Is it indeed so late? (*Looking at his watch.*)
It is even so.
(*Pausing, and looking still at the watch.*)
How soon time flies away! yet, as I watch it,
Methinks by the slow progress of this hand,
I should have liv'd an age since yesterday,
And have an age to live. Still on it creeps,
Each little moment at another's heels,
Till hours, days, years, and ages are made up
Of such small parts as these, and men look back,
Worn and bewilder'd, wond'ring how it is.
Thou trav'llest like a ship in the wide ocean,
Which hath no bounding shore to mark its progress;
O Time! ere long I shall have done with thee.
When next thou leadest on thy nightly shades,
Though many a weary heart thy steps may count,
Thy midnight 'larum shall not waken me
Then shall I be a thing, at thought of which
The roused soul swells boundless and sublime,
Or wheels in wildness of unfathom'd fears:
A thought; a consciousness; unbodied spirit.
Who but would shrink from this?
But wherefore shrink? came we not thus to earth?
And he who sent, prepar'd reception for us.
Ay, glorious are the things that are prepar'd,
As we believe!—yet, heaven pardon me!
I fain would sculk beneath my wonted cov'ring,
Mean as it is.
Ah, Time! when next thou fill'st thy nightly term,
Where shall I be? Fye! fye upon thee still!
E'en where weak infancy, and tim'rous age,
And maiden fearfulness have gone before thee;
And where, as well as him of firmest soul,
The meanly-minded and the coward are.

> Then trust thy nature, at th' approaching push,
> The mind doth shape itself to its own wants,
> And can bear all things.' p. 111-113.

We can afford no more extracts from this play. From those which we have now given, our readers will perceive that Miss Baillie's style and diction, with some quaintness and much inequality, has in it, upon the whole, more vigour, nature and animation, than that of any of our modern dramatists. It has all the substantial characters of poetry, too, with scarcely any thing of the vulgar poetical diction; and is always a great deal richer in conception and imagery, than in melody and phrases. The gay scenes, we think, are very clumsily and heavily delineated; and the humours of the turnkeys, executioners and clowns, are absolutely insupportable.

We come now to the comedy which is called 'The Country Inn.' Miss Baillie positively must not write comedies. She wants that talent; and she has higher talents. There are strong indications of good sense indeed and good humour, in the speeches of her favourite characters; and the diction throughout has the merit of being very natural, and of approaching more nearly to the tone of real conversation, than is usual in the modern drama. But the dialogue, along with the ease of common conversation, has a good deal of its *fadeur* and insipidity; and there is a lamentable deficiency both of incident and character, for which no atonement could be made by the utmost accomplishment of expression. The Country Inn is by much the worst of Miss Baillie's comedies. With the same want of brilliancy, probability and interest, it has less variety, and a much more offensive proportion of low humour than any of its predecessors. The characters, too, have all too much mediocrity about them to be interesting: they have no passion, and scarcely any distress or perplexity. The ludicrous incidents are all extremely childish; and the moral and reasonable passages have neither tenderness nor energy.

The story, in case our readers have any anxiety to know it, is as follows. A worthy baronet about forty, whom too much sense has made a humourist, and kept a bachelor, is stopped at a country inn by the snow, along with a dissipated idle nephew, a great admirer of his own beauty and accomplishments. In the same house there happens to be a gentleman poet, the activity of whose fancy has converted the chambermaid into a nymph of enchanting beauty, and irresistible elegance of manners. By and by arrives a coach, containing an old lady and two nieces: one very pretty, amiable and accomplished, but with scarcely any fortune; the other a downright idiot, supposed to be a great heiress, but

in reality almost as poor as her cousin. The old lady is a great match-maker, and particularly anxious to dispose of the most deserving of her nieces to the baronet, who fortunately turns out to be an old acquaintance. The young lady sees through this plot of her aunt; and being, of course, much above mercenary motives, thinks herself bound to frustrate it, by treating the gentleman with particular coldness and neglect. By listening at her chamber-door, however, he contrives, in his turn, to see through the motive of her indifference; and thereon falling desperately in love with her, communicates as much of his passion to her as is sufficient to obtain her consent to marry him towards the close of the fifth act. In the mean time, the nephew elopes with the idiot niece, and is regaled, upon his return, with discovering that her personal accomplishments form almost the whole of her dowry. The poet, at the same time, in spite of the ungenial weather, leads the chambermaid to the altar, and is rewarded for his folly by finding that an old uncle had that morning left her ten thousand pounds. Such are the incidents which, with the help of the pleasantries of David the ostler, and Will the postillion, and the humours of the landlady and bagpiper, Miss Baillie has contrived to dilate into a comedy in five acts, entitled The Country Inn.

The last play is a tragedy, called Constantine Paleologus. The subject is the downfal of the Eastern empire, by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. It is by far the best in the collection; and, though 'horribly stuffed with circumstance of war,' and composed throughout in a style rather more turgid and ambitious than any of Miss Baillie's other compositions, approaches much nearer to the standard of Count Basil and De Montford than the preceding contents of the volume had permitted us to expect. Miss Baillie's own account of the object she had in view, and the impressions under which she proceeded, deserve to be given in her own words.

'The subject of it is taken from Gibbon's account of the siege of Constantinople by the Turks. It was a subject that pressed itself upon me, at a time when I had no thoughts of writing at all, and (if I may use the expression) *would* be written upon. The character there displayed of Constantine Paleologus, the last of the Cæsars, a modest affectionate, domestic man; nursed in a luxurious court in habits of indulgence and indolence; without ambition, even without hope, rousing himself up at the approach of unavoidable ruin; and deserted by every christian prince in Europe, deserted by his own worthless and enervated subjects, supported alone by a generous band, chiefly of strangers, devoting themselves to him from generous attachment;—to see him thus circumstanced, nobly fronting the storm, and perishing as became the last of a long line of kings, the last of the Romans;—this was a view of man—of noble and dignified exertion which it was impossible for me

to resist though well aware that no play that I am capable of writing can ever be equal to what such a subject deserves. So much was I pleased with those generous ties—may I be permitted to make use of a scripture phrase, and say, those "cords of a man?" binding together the noble Paleologus and his brave imperial band, that, had I followed my own inclination, delineating those would have been the principal object of the piece. But convinced that something more was requisite to interest a common audience, and give sufficient variety to the scenes, I introduced the character of Valeria, and brought forward the domestic qualities of Constantine as well as those of the unfortunate prince and beloved leader.' p. xiv, xv.

The character of Constantine, indeed, and his fate, constitute the whole interest of the drama. It cannot be said to have any plot, and scarcely any fable. It is merely the history of the two last days of the siege: and though an attempt is made to diversify the business of the scene, by the introduction of a mutiny and an embassy, yet we see clearly the doom of the emperor from the very opening of the piece, and the attention is never effectually diverted to any other object. The inferior characters are not striking. There is a kind of rhetorical flourishing in the speeches of Othus, which was intended, we suppose, to characterize the man of letters in his new vocation of a soldier; but it is merely bombastic and declamatory, and wearies us almost as much as the dull villany and tedious treachery of Petronius and Marthon. There is something rather magnificent in the character of Valeria, though we cannot be brought by any means to approve of her going to consult the magician as to the destiny of her husband. Such a proceeding is not only unsuitable to her lofty and commanding temper, but the incident itself is beneath the dignity of tragedy. Shrines and oracles may be resorted to by distressed sovereigns, without any breach of decorum; nay, witches and wizards may be consulted with sufficient propriety, provided they live alone in caverns and dreary forests, and give out their predictions for love, for fear, or for hatred. But for an empress to go disguised like one of her chambermaids, to a professed conjuror's apartments, in an obscure alley of a great city, and to pay her money at the door out of gratitude for being surprised with good news, is an incident which corresponds so ill with the lofty tone of tragedy, that it could scarcely find admittance into the more dignified species of comedy. The character of Constantine, however, certainly is represented with considerable truth and feeling. We give the following short extract. The deserted monarch, after having counterfeited a cheerful intrepidity in the midst of his officers, thus addresses himself to Othus in private:

'*Constan.* ——————Here by thy friendly side,
I'll give my heart a little breathing space;

For oh! the gen'rous love of these brave men,
Holding thus nobly to my sinking fate,
Presses it sorely.
From thee nor from myself can I conceal
The hopeless state in which I am beset.
No foreign prince a brother's hand extends
In this mine hour of need; no christian state
Sends forth its zealous armies to defend
This our begirded cross: within our walls,
Tho' with th' addition of our later friends,
I cannot number soldiers ev'n sufficient
To hold a petty town 'gainst such vast odds,
I needs must smile and wear a brow of hope,
But with thee, gentle Othus, I put off
All form and seeming; I am what I am,
A weak and heart-rent man.—Wilt thou forgive me?
For I in truth must weep.

'*Othus.* Yes, unrestrained weep, thou valiant soul
With many a wave o'er ridden! Thou striv'st nobly
Where hearts of sterner stuff perhaps had sunk:
And o'er thy fall, if it be so decreed,
Good men will mourn, and brave men will shed tears,
Kindred to those which now thou shed'st. Thy name
Shall in succeeding ages be remembered,
When those of mighty monarchs are forgot.

'*Constan.* Deceive me not; thy love deceiveth thee
Men's actions to futurity appear
But as th' events to which they are conjoined
To give them consequence.
O no, good Othus, fame I look not for.
But to sustain in heaven's all-seeing eye,
Before my fellow men, in mine own sight,
With graceful virtue and becoming pride,
The dignity and honour of a man.
Thus station'd as I am, I will do all
That man may do, and I will suffer all—
My heart within me cries, that man can suffer.
Shall low-born men on scaffolds firmly tread,
For that their humble townsmen should not blush,
And shall I shrink? No, by the living God!
I will not shrink, albeit I shed these tears.
I would, God knows, in a poor woodman's hut
Have spent my peaceful days, and shar'd my crust
With her who would have cheer'd me, rather far
Than on this throne; but, being what I am,
I'll be it nobly.' p. 335-36-37.

In the scene of the insurrection, the weakness of his character, or rather the preponderating influence of his domestic affections, is

represented perhaps a little too plainly. When he proposes to go and repel the insurgents in person, Valeria addresses him.

——————O, no! thou shalt not go!
Yea, I am bold! misfortune mocks at state,
And strong affection scorns all reverence:
Therefore, before these lords, ev'n upon thee,
Thou eastern Cæsar, do I boldly lay
My woman's hand, and say, "Thou shalt not go."

Constan. Thy woman's hand is stronger, sweet Valeria,
Than warrior's iron grasp,
But yet it may not hold me. Strong affection
Makes thee most fearful where no danger is.
Shall eastern Cæsar, like a timid hind
Scar'd from his watch, conceal his cowering head?
And does an empire's dame require it of him?

Valeria. Away, away with all those pompous sounds!
I know them not. I by thy side have shar'd
The public gaze, and th' applauding shouts
Of bending crowds: but I have also shar'd
The hour of thy heart's sorrow, still and silent,
The hour of thy heart's joy. I have supported
Thine aching head, like the poor wand'rer's wife,
Who, on his seat of turf, beneath heaven's roof,
Rests on his way.—The storm beats fiercely on us:
Our nature suits not with these worldly times,
To it most adverse. Fortune loves us not;
She hath for us no good: do we retain
Her fetters only? No, thou shalt not go!
(Twining her arms round him.)
By that which binds the peasant and the prince,
The warrior and the slave, all that do bear
The form and nature of a man, I stay thee!
Thou shalt not go.

Constan. Wouldst thou degrade me thus?

Valeria. Wouldst thou unto my bosom give death's pang?
Thou lov'st me not,

CONSTANTINE *(with emotion, stretching out his hands to his friends, who stand at some distance)*
My friends, you see how I am fetter'd here.
Ye who have to my fallen fortunes clung
With gen'rous love, less to redeem their fall
Than on my waning fate by noble deeds
To shed a ray of graceful dignity:
Ye gen'rous and devoted; still with you
I thought to share all dangers: go ye now,
And to the current of this swelling tide
Set your brave breasts alone. *(Waving them off with his hand, and then turning to her.)*

Now, wife, where wouldst thou lead me?

'VALERIA *(pointing with great energy to the friends who are turning as if to go out)*

There, there! O, there! thou hast no other way.'

p. 305-06-07.

In the subsequent scene of the quelling of the insurrection, Miss Baillie appears to us to have imitated her own representation of the suppression of the mutiny in Count Basil; and, like other imitators, to have fallen very far short of the original.

The last parting scene between the imperial personages is stately on the part of the lady.

'*Constan.* Good-morrow, noble brothers and brave leaders:
Are we all here convened?——Now, Valeria!

'*Valeria.* I understand that smile.
Here with thy gen'rous friends, whose love to thee
Most dearly celled in my heart I wear,
And unto whom I have desired much,
Before we part these grateful thanks to pay—
Here to those noble friends, and to God's keeping,
I leave thee.——Yet, be it permitted me—
For that thy noble head and lib'ral brow
Have ever cheer'd me as my star of day,
Blessings and blessings let me pour upon them?
(Putting her hand upon his head fervently, and kissing his forehead,)
For that thy gen'rous breast has been the hold
Of all my treasur'd wishes and dear thoughts,
This fond embrace. *(Embracing him.)*
Yea, and for that thou art
My sire, and sov'reign, and most honour'd lord,
This humble homage of my heart receive,
(Kneeling, and kissing his hand.)

'CONSTANTINE *(Raising and embracing her with great emotion.)*
No more, my dearest and most noble love!
Spare me, O spare me! Heaven be thy protection!
Farewel!' p. 406, 407.

The scenes in the Turkish camp are not good. The big blustering of despots, and the crouching adulation of slaves, admit of little variation. It is probably a mistake, however, to suppose that the sultan was as despotic, or his vizirs and generals as obsequious in the days of Mahomet the Second as in those of Selim the Third. There is something striking in the following passage. Mahomet, making the rounds of his camp the night before the grand attack, attended by a single officer, comes in one quarter so near the walls of the devoted city, as to hear the murmur that issues from her gates, and asks

'What sounds are these?

'*Osmir.* Hast thou forgot we are so near the city?
It is the murm'ring night-sounds of her streets,
Which the soft breeze wafts to thine ear, thus softly
Mix'd with the chafings of the distant waves.

'MAHOMET *eagerly.)*
'And let me listen too! I love the sound!
Like the last whispers of a dying enemy
It comes to my pleas'd ear. *(Listening.)*
Spent art thou, proud imperial queen of nations,
And thy last accents are upon the wind.
Thou hast but one voice more to utter; one
Loud, frantic, terrible, and then art thou
Amongst the nations heard no more. List! list!
I like it well! the lion hears afar
Th' approaching prey, and shakes his bristling mane,
And lashes with his tail his tawny sides,
And so hear I this city's nightly sound.
Silent shall be the march: nor drum, nor trump,
Nor clash of arms, shall to the watchful foe
Our near approach betray: silent and soft,
As the pard's velvet foot on Libya's sands,
Slow stealing with crouch'd shoulders on her prey.' p. 372-3

Miss Baillie says, somewhere in her preface, that this play was written with a view to its being represented on the stage, and apologises for the quantity of pomp and scenery which it exhibits, from the desire she felt of indulging the taste of the spectators in these particulars. Now, if we had not read this explanation, we will confess that we should have been disposed to seek an apology for the peculiarity to which she alludes, in the very opposite supposition, and should have excused several of the marginal expositions of the scene, by suggesting that the play was not intended for actual representation. It appears to us, indeed, that a very great part of the last act would not admit of representation. It opens with a view of the assault, with artillery and battering engines playing on the walls, houses tumbling down, and soldiers marching, together with 'a prospect of the breach, in the back ground, with the confused fighting of the besieged, enveloped in clouds of dust and smoke.' After a good deal of hard fighting, and loud shouting, under the very eyes of the spectators, there is 'a terrible noise of arms, &c. and presently one of the pillars in the middle of the stage falls down, and opens a wider view of the battle, and the Turks are seen rushing through the breach, and carrying every thing before them.' Now, all this may be described perhaps with great eloquence and effect;

but does Miss Baillie really believe it possible, by any effort of mechanism, to represent it to the eye, within the walls of a theatre, in such a way as not to be absolutely ridiculous? There is a city taken by the Turks, we believe, in the celebrated entertainment of Blue Beard; but we scarcely imagine that Miss Baillie had it in view to enter into competition with that meritorious performance.

The death of Constantine, who falls fighting bravely in the breach, and the distracting anxiety of Valeria, are represented with truth and simplicity, rather than with great pathos or effect. In the midst of the conflict, the empress, stunned with the growing noise of the battle, and ignorant of its issue, is represented as traversing her apartment with agitated steps, and thus saying to an attendant—

'Oh, will this state of tossing agony
No termination have! Send out, I pray thee,
Another messenger.

'*Lucia.* Indeed I have in little space of time
Sent many forth, but none return again.

'*Valeria.* In little space! Oh it hath been a term
Of horrible length! such as rack'd fiends do reckon
Upon their tossing beds of surgy flames,
Told by the lashes of each burning tide
That o'er them breaks.—Hark! the quick step of one
With tidings fraught! Dost thou not hear it?

'*Lucia.* No;
I hear it not.

'*Valeria.* Still is it the false coinage of my fears?
Ah! hearing, sight, and every sense is now
False and deceitful grown.—I'll sit me down,
And think no more, but let the black hour pass
In still and fixed stupor o'er my head. *Sits down upon a low seat, and supports her bended head upon both her hands.)*

'LUCIA *(listening.)*
'Now I do hear the sound of real feet
In haste approaching.

'VALERIA *(starting up.)*
'Some one brings us tidings.
What may they be? Quick steps should bring us good.
(*Enter* MESSENGER.)
Say all thou hast to say, and say it quickly.
If it be good hold up thy blessed hand,
And I will bless the token.—No, thou dost not!
'Tis evil then.—How is it with my lord?
What dangers still encompass him?

'*Mess.* No dangers.

'*Valeria.* And dost thou say so with that terrible look?
Is he alive? Have all deserted him?
'*Mess.* No, round his body still some brave men fight,
And will not quit him till they be as he is.' p. 417, 418.

When the massacre is at last arrested by the command of Mahomet, the effects of the respite thus brought to the survivors is described with great force in the following passage—

'*Officer.* Like a sudden gleam
Of fierce returning light at the storm's close,
Glancing on horrid sights of waste and sorrow,
Came the swift word of peace, and to the eye
Gave consciousness of that which the wild uproar
And dire confusion of the carnage hid.
'*First Woman.*
'Alas! be there such sights within our walls?
'*Officer.* 'Yes, maid, such sights of blood! such sights of nature!
In expectation of their horrid fate,
Widows, and childless parents, and 'lorn dames,
Sat by their unwept dead with fixed gaze,
In horrible stillness.
But when the voice of grace was heard aloud,
So strongly stirr'd within their roused souls
The love of life, that, even amidst those horrors,
A joy was seen—joy hateful and unlovely.
I saw an aged man rise from an heap
Of grizly dead, whereon, new murder'd, lay
His sons and grandsons, yea, the very babe
Whose cradle he had rock'd with palsied hands,
And shake his grey locks at the sound of life
With animation wild and horrible!
I saw a mother with her murder'd infant
Still in her arms fast lock'd, spring from the ground—
No, no! I saw it not! I saw it not!
It was a hideous fancy of my mind.' p. 420, 421.

Valeria stabs herself in presence of Mahomet, and, with her dying voice, entreats Othus, whom she does not know to be mortally wounded, to record and vindicate the virtues of her husband: then, seeing him look pale and sad, she says—

'What means that woeful motion of thy head?
Mine eyes wax dim, or do I truly see thee?
Thy visage has a strange and ghastly look:
How is it with thee?
'*Othus.* As one who standeth at the city's gate,
Through which his earlier friends have past, and waits
Impatiently, girt in his traveller's robe,
To hear the welcome creaking of its bars.
'*Valeira.* Ah! art thou wounded then? Alas! alas!
Art thou too of our company? sad trav'ller
Unto a world unknown.

'*Othus.* Nay, say not sad, though to a world unknown.
The foster'd nursling, at th' appointed season,
Who leaves his narrow crib and cottage home
For the fair mansion of his lordly sire,
Goes to a world unknown.

'*Valeria.* Ay, thou wouldst cheer me, and I will be cheer'd.
There reigns above who casts his dark shade o'er us,
Mantling us on our way to glorious light.' p. 433.

Mahomet, who has been represented all along as envying and admiring the high spirit and generous attachment of the Christian leaders, turns round to them after this scene, and says—

'Ye valiant men, who have so serv'd your prince,
There still is in the world a mighty monarch,
Who, if he might retain you near his throne,
Shall he say near his heart, in such dear zeal?
Would think his greatness honour'd.

'*Othus.* Great sultan, thou hast conquered with such arms
As power has given to thee, th' imperial city
Of royal Constantine: but other arms,
That might the friends of Constantine subdue,
Heav'n has denied thee.

'*Rodrigo.* No, mighty prince; they who have serv'd for love,
Cannot like flying pennants be transferr'd
From bark to bark.

'MAHOMET (*impatiently.*)
'I understand you well, and you are free.
Mine arms, such as they are, of heav'n are bless'd;
That is enough.

'*Othus.* That were indeed enough; but heaven oftimes
Success bestows where blessing is denied.' p. 436, 437.

From the large extracts which we have given from this tragedy, our readers will easily conclude that we think more favourably of it than of any of its companions; and we hope that the perusal of these passages will induce them to concur in that opinion. With a number of very gross defects in the management and execution, it has in most of the important scenes, a degree of truth, simplicity and vigour, which are of the best example in the present state of the British drama: and the diction, though in some measure distorted by too sedulous an imitation of Massinger and Shakespeare, is always sustained by a spirit of poetry which would redeem greater deficiencies.

Upon the whole, however, we are afraid that this volume will by no means add to Mis Baillie's reputation. A pretty large proportion of it is unequivocally bad, and those parts which might have appeared excellent in an unknown writer, make but an indifferent figure when contrasted with her own previous productions. We have the less hesitation in expressing thus

freely our sense of the deficiencies of this publication, as the writer has already obtained an established reputation, and seems, from some expressions in her preface, to be sufficiently aware of the extent of her claims on the public indulgence. That she has very extraordinary talents for dramatic poetry, is unquestionable; but the more rare and precious those talents are, the more it must excite our regret to see them wasted in injudicious exertions, or disappointed of their high reward by precipitate, profuse, or unadvised publication. We have great respect for Miss Baillie's qualifications; but we wish her to respect herself, and to respect the public, a little more than she seems to do. Hers are not the talents that are calculated to enchant an idle and undistinguishing multitude; her voice is pitched for a narrower and more select audience; and she ought to recollect, that, in such circles, the praise that is gained by genius may easily be forfeited by security. We earnestly exhort Miss Baillie to write no more comedies; to keep her assay tragedies in her portfolio; and not to give any new ones to the world, till she has submitted them to the revision of some experienced and impartial friend: her originality cannot now be subjected to any imputation, and though she will not easily meet with a superior in genius, it will not be difficult for her to find an instructor in taste.

Art. XIII. *Précis Historique de la Revolution Française Convention Nationale.* Par Lacretelle, jeune. 2 vol. 24°. Paris, 1802.

IT is not very wonderful, we conceive, although it certainly is rather unfortunate, that the various accounts hitherto published, as histories of the French Revolution, have been but little calculated to satisfy the curiosity it has so powerfully excited. If time is found essential to mature the reflections of the historian, on the most common national transactions; how long an interval may we not reasonably anticipate, before we can expect a judicious or impartial account of that astonishing æra? The scenes to be described still operate too forcibly on the recollection of the writer, and their effects are still too visible around him; and even should no personal sufferings or national animosities exasperate the feelings of the historian, the bare contemplation of the horrors that signalized the reign of the National Convention, might be sufficient to disturb his impartiality. In such a scene the relator is apt to be hurried away by indignation and abhorrence, and to fancy that, by indiscriminate and profuse invective, he offers the best reparation

to outraged humanity. But it is not thus that mankind can reap the dear-bought fruits of experience. Errors of judgement are not to be classed with perverseness of design; nor should the excesses of an over-heated imagination be confounded with the atrocities of deliberate cruelty. Forgetting awhile his private opinions, the historian should endeavour to enter into the views of the different actors in this dismal tragedy; and carefully distinguish how far the catastrophe, that eventually resulted from their conduct, corresponded with the motives by which it was directed.

Even now that the light of experience has come to guide our speculations, where is the man that will not confess the extreme difficulty (to use no stronger word) of clearly delineating the line of public duty which a real patriot ought to have pursued from the commencement of the French Revolution? To mark the error, that actually proved a fruitful source of calamity, is now indeed an easy task; but if fancy itself is bewildered in conjecturing the means by which a prosperous issue might have been secured, indulgence surely is due to those who acted immediately under the misruling influence of so perplexing a situation. Indulgence, therefore, ought to prevail in the breast of the author who undertakes the history of these awful times. But while Royalists, Constitutionalists and Republicans, are still mourning the cruel extinction of their hopes, by the untoward progress of the revolution (and what writer can be without predilection to one or other of these parties?) is there not too much reason to fear, that disappointment will seek vent in the asperity of animadversion, and pervert the truth and candour of inquiry?

Yet, though a time when animosities have scarcely abated their vigour is peculiarly unseasonable for the writing of history, public curiosity demands, and various motives urge individuals to supply details on a subject which commands so universal an interest. It must therefore be considered as fortunate, if, under such circumstances, a publication should appear, which, however unequal to the highest standard, exhibits at least an impartial narrative, enlivened by judicious and temperate observations. To this commendation the work before us appears to be fully entitled. It is written throughout with a dispassionate candour to which the more praise is due, as it is the production of a person by no means a stranger to the characters or events he is describing. M. Lacretelle, we should imagine to be a friend of limited monarchy; but neither royalists nor republicans can charge him with unfairness. Their conduct, in many instances, is mentioned in such terms, that the party attachments of the writer are scarcely discernible. Even the Jacobin faction must do justice to the extent of his candour; the impetuous fury of Danton and his

followers is distinguished, in his pages, from the cool systematic barbarity of Robespierre, St. Just, Collot D'Herbois, Couthon, and Billaud-Varennes.

Had M. Lacretelle displayed more comprehensive views of his subject, or observed at least a clearer and more connected arrangement of events; we should have had more reason to lament that his work is constructed on so very abridged a scale. The principal facts, though distinctly, and in themselves fully, presented, are rather exhibited as detached pictures, than adjusted in their relative positions to each other. The reader is thereby frequently left to conjecture the influence of contemporary events on the leading transactions; and we have often been indebted, for just views of their dependencies, to the chronological table which is prefixed to this history.

The style of M. Lacretelle is not, upon the whole, such as will appear agreeable to an English reader. It is not deficient in neatness or perspicuity, but it is affectedly broken into short smart sentences, and perpetually seeks to borrow energy from metaphor, and vivacity from antithesis.

At the period with which this work commences (the meeting of the national convention) affairs were overcast with a settled gloom, that countenanced the fears of the most desponding. France had already seen two successive legislatures. On the convocation of the States-General, lively expectations had pervaded even distant countries. The numerous imperfections of the ancient monarchy were generally admitted; and few persons comparatively, were adverse to the efforts of a populous and civilized nation, to restrain, by constitutional boundaries, the vast and undefined powers of the crown. In the progress to this desirable end, unpromising appearances were soon manifested. It was confirmed (for, before, it needed not demonstration) that the attempt of transforming into free men, a people, nursed from earliest infancy in the habits of a despotic government, and utterly unused to the exercise of political rights, cannot be carried into execution without the most violent convulsions. Popular disorders broke out in several quarters; the members of the National Assembly were placed in a critical dilemma; a disordered state of the finances had given birth to the first opportunity of establishing a free constitution; they were eager to improve it, in opposition to every effort apprehended from the court. Though many were able to discover the seeds of future danger in the growing fermentation among the lowest orders, yet the power, which they had been longest taught to feel and to dread, was viewed in the most formidable light by the majority; and the unsteady, irresolute character of the benevolent

Louis, misconceived, or misrepresented as insincere and hypocritical, confirmed their purpose of divesting the monarch of every efficient prerogative. It was not till they had annihilated every thing of royalty but the name, that they became sensible that they had, at the same time, removed every barrier against the license of the populace. With a timidity, the example of which was but too often imitated afterwards by their countrymen, they shrunk from a resistance which might still have been effectual; and while they thus devolved on the legislative assembly the task of supplying a remedy, of which they felt and acknowledged the necessity, they strangely excluded from it the very persons from whom it was most to be expected. Was it pusillanimity, affecting the cover of self-denial; or real, though mistaken disinterestedness, or pitiful jealousy of rival talents, that gave birth to the decree, which rendered ineligible for the new legislature every member of the National Assembly? Thus were the most eminent politicians in France, men enlightened by reflection on a short but instructive career, virtually banished from the councils of their country.

If the errors of an assembly, that united the greatest talents, were to be traced to a want of practical experience, how far from encouraging was the prospect that opened with its successor? The novelty of political discussions had produced a considerable ferment in the public mind; the attachment to the Sovereign had been greatly enfeebled, by the unfortunate flight to Varennes, and the suspected conspiracy of the court with the powers armed against France. Under circumstances thus unfavourable the members of the new Assembly were elected.

The party that soon obtained in it a decisive ascendancy, was chiefly composed of deputies from the department of the Gironde. Most of these persons were very young, and many of them distinguished for talents, and zealously intent on the welfare of their country. But the ancient republics of Athens and of Sparta had fired their imaginations; they were blind to the true character and habits of their countrymen; and forgot that those republics had not sprung up on the ruins of despotism, nor amidst a general dissolution of morals. To destroy the constitution they were sworn to maintain, was accordingly the secret wish of their hearts: the vanity of several hoped to eclipse their famed predecessors in the work of legislation. Yet some regard for their oath, aided by prudential considerations, restrained them from avowing their aim, and drove them to pursue it through a disguised and crooked policy. No system could have been more terrible than that which they adopted. They conceived the desperate project of employing the people, to effect the down-

fal of royalty, and the populace of Paris assumed in their eyes the dignified character of the national representative: they concerted the insurrection of the 2d of June, and afterwards that of the 10th of August, which drove their Monarch to seek the refuge of a captive within the walls of the assembly. The Jacobins had seen, with secret exultation, the gradual erection of a new sovereignty, the reins of which must, they foresaw, be ultimately transferred into their hands. In all measures that accelerated the ruin of legal authority, they had supported the Girondins with their votes; they had also joined them when a too anxious regard for popularity had urged them to overlook, or to palliate, the sanguinary excesses that provoked the animadversions of the constitutional party. But their policy, as well as their language on these occasions, drew a visible line of separation between them. They boasted, before the popular assemblies, of the marks of odium and ignominy with which they were branded by their rivals; because, instead of offering a timid and insincere apology, they had boldly avowed their warm approbation of every act of the sovereign people. They cautioned them assiduously not to look for friends among men who flattered them indeed as instruments by which they hoped to secure their own elevation; but to vest their entire confidence in a party, wholly and ardently intent on exalting the lowest orders of society.

The 10th of August completed their triumph. They were now sanctioned, by the example of their opponents, in exciting the people to open insurrection: they were able to form a pretty correct estimate of the impunity that would attend any conspiracy. In the midst of the trepidation and disorder created by the near approach of the combined armies to the metropolis, they rose upon the municipality; replaced its members by creatures devoted to themselves; assassins were despatched to the different prisons, and massacred the defenceless victims confined there on the most vague suspicions. The Legislative Assembly heard, while sitting, the report of this horrid outrage; and awaited, in silent and lethargic terror, the period of its consummation. Expiring, agreeably to what was still called, the constitution, a few days after, its members separated; having merely vented, in empty declamations, the feelings that ought only to have been satisfied by the most terrible example of retribution.

Such was the hopeless termination of this second Legislature, and such the auspices that ushered in the National Convention; of which we are now to attend to the general outlines. In Paris, and even in remoter districts, the elections had proceeded under the impressions of terror, which the 2d of September had

diffused. A horde, such as the world had not till then seen arrayed in the garb of legislators, crowded the side of the Assembly to which they gave the appellation of the Mountain, glorying in Danton, Robespierre and Marat as their chiefs. The opposite benches are occupied by the great majority of members, but they were not alike united into one compact body. At first indeed they seemed wholly devoted to the Girondins; they joined in their cries of vengeance against the assassins of September, and the authors of various outrages committed in other quarters. But as Mr. Lacretelle observes,

'Among those who supported them at present, all did not approve of their conduct in the preceding Assembly. The Girondins were not followed with blind devotion; their views often appeared too subtle, and at other times dangerous; they betrayed too evidently a puerile regret for their former popularity, and were still but too prone to make imprudent sacrifices for the chance of regaining it. They offended on two or three occasions, but especially on one of great importance, men of consciences less pliable than their own; but, what proved still more fatal they experienced the utmost treachery from some of the new deputies, who had eagerly courted their connexion. Barrere, whether his vanity was hurt, or his timidity had already caught the alarm, established a party independent of the common cause; one of those mixt parties, to which the vulgar crowd in assemblies ever repairs for safety, on the approach of alarming storms; one of those parties that crouch under every threat, yet seem to dictate every law; that destroy the good of every measure by dint of modifications; and arrest the course of crimes, only to give more maturity to their contrivance.'

The abolition of Royalty, proposed, equally to the mortification and surprise of the Girondins, by Collot D'Herbois, one of the September assassins, and voted with tumultuous acclamation at the first sitting of the Convention, had alone retarded the attack with which they were intent on overwhelming their adversaries. The contest was opened by Lasource on the 25th of September. He set forth in glowing colours the atrocities that had been perpetrated, and represented them as the prelude of a projected Dictatorship. Cries of 'Name the Dictator!' resounded through the hall. In the confusion of voices, the names of Danton, Robespierre, Marat, were distinctly heard. The particulars of this sitting are peculiarly interesting. The Girondins were now in the plentitude of their strength; and this first trial demonstrates a total want of concert among the adversaries of the Jacobins, a predominant timidity in the Convention, and the overawing influence of the furies that filled its galleries, which could not but be improved by ordinary dexterity, into the ultimate triumph of the most abandoned ruffians. The stentorian voice of Danton first commanded a hearing. By artfully reviving the insidious and

truly unmeaning charge of federalism against the Girondins, he succeeded nevertheless in dividing their supporters. Robespierre next rose.

'Never did this frigid orator descend so far beneath the part which he was destined to fill. He exhausted the patience of the Assembly with his ponderous egotism and unmeaningness: at every moment, bitter sarcasms and galling apostrophes interrupted and perplexed him, without, however, affecting in the slightest degree the fatiguing monotony of his speech. One of his own party, a man named Osselin, yielded to his impatience. "Cease, Robespierre," said he, "to talk to us about thyself; answer this single question; Hast thou aspired to the Dictatorship?" Robespierre eyed him with savage fierceness; and that single glance must have been to him the presage of death. The members ended by enjoying the emotion and perturbation of the tyrant; and the idea of punishing him was most remote from their thoughts. Woe to the people, among whom the sense of ridicule enfeebles that of indignation! This sentiment seemed however to rekindle at the sight of Marat. The public had long doubted the existence of such a monster. The patriots themselves supposed, perhaps without believing it, that his sanguinary publications were the concealed crime of some royalist who sought to dishonour liberty by its excesses. There was however such a being! the 2d of September had revealed his existence; he was called a representative of the nation. He began his apology. How could it be heard, and how can I at this day retrace it! I shall present, without varying, the expressions, the prominent features of this speech, such as they were collected. "Accuse no man," said he, "Danton, Robespierre and others. I alone, I suggested the idea of a tribunate, triumvirate, dictatorship: call it as you will: I have no fears of being disowned by the people; they know my principles and my attachment to their interests. Yes—I declare it, painfully affected by the violent paroxysms with which my country was convulsed, viewing her on the point of being ingulphed in her own ruins, I saw one only chance of saving her, the Dictatorship; and I proposed it: but I wished that it should be committed to the hands of a man, upright, and of an energetic character, who might, with calmness and with justice, cut off the heads of the guilty. Already a hundred thousand patriots have fallen, victims of iniquity; the lives of a hundred thousand more are still threatened. People! why didst thou not believe me? If, the very day on which the Bastile was conquered, less deaf to my voice, thou hadst laid low five hundred heads of machinators, thou hadst imprinted terror in the souls of the rest, and the new order of things would not have encountered so many obstacles."

'The Convention shuddered. Many members sprung from their seats to tear from the tribune the monster, the sight and the voice of whom they could not longer endure. Vergniaud obtains a hearing. "How painful for me," said he, "to replace at this tribune a man all drenched in calumnies, gall and blood!" The disgust he expresses.

every one appears to feel. Vergniaud forgets Robespierre and Danton, but he urges with warmth the expulsion or punishment of Marat.....He reads a number of the *Ami du Peuple*, in which Marat estimated, with the most phlegmatic ferocity, that liberty could now only be secured by cutting off seventy thousand heads Shouts arise in the galleries, approving the calculation of Marat. Consternation spreads through the Assembly. The greater number of deputies still detest proscriptions, but they fancy themselves surrounded by an army of proscribers. Some desert the hall; they say 'tis from horror at the recital of such atrocities, and they were called upon to punish them! Marat again appears; he avows the paper that has been read; he shews another in which his cruelty is somewhat mitigated. The Mountain approves its principles with a thousand clamorous shouts; the remainder of the Convention is silent or scatters itself abroad. Marat adds insults to the fugitives. He himself announces his triumph. "Blush," says he to his trembling colleagues, "at your own precipitation in accusing the patriots." Drawing a pistol from his pocket, he proceeds. "If the decree of accusation against me had been carried, I was resolved to blow out my brains at the foot of this tribune. This then is the fruit of my nightly vigils, of my labours, of my misery, of my sufferings! .Well, however, I will remain among you to brave your fury." This consummation of effrontery is treated as madness. Fear hides itself under an affected contempt. "Let us leave individuals," exclaims Tallien; "secure the safety of the republic; decree that it is one and indivisible." The decree is carried. Thus, from this struggle, which the Girondin accusers had opened with every presage of victory, there only results an obscure perfidious decree, worded as a fatal sentence upon their party, The whole character of the Convention is imprinted in this sitting. The events of that day must have completed the general conviction, that nothing but a military force could henceforward secure the freedom of debate. A decree had been early obtained to authorise such a measure; owing to timidity or want of system, its execution was neglected. The Girondins hoped to overwhelm Robespierre by a more formal accusation; Louvet undertook the charge; his speech electrified the Convention. Instead of seizing the opportunity of summary justice against that sanguinary monster, they yielded to his request of eight days for preparing his defence—for organizing the galleries in his favour. The result may be conjectured. What now suspended the vengeance of the Jacobins against opponents who had so flagrantly betrayed an irregular, unsteady, pusillanimous spirit? The fate of the captive Monarch remained undecided, and they resolved that Louis should prepare the way to the scaffold.

'The Girondins were on this occasion entangled in their own tortuous policy. In general, they were inclined to save the life of the King; but their wild theories led them to compass this point through an appeal to the people at large, subsequently to his condemnation by the Assembly. Concurring therefore with the Jacobins on the first

question, "Is Louis guilty?" they secured to them a victory in the first instance, the consequences of which were irretrievable. Thirty-eight only out of 721 members had the courage to adopt the language of Lanjuinais, "You cannot be at once the accusers and the judges of Louis: Every one of you has previously delivered his sentiments; many have done it with a scandalous ferociousness."

We would with pleasure extract several passages in the account M. Lacretelle has given of the trial and condemnation of that unfortunate King; they do equal honour to his heart, to his judgement, and to his powers as a writer. But this is a subject familiar to most readers, and in our narrow limits we must give a preference to facts and details less generally known. We shall insert, however, the particulars he has given relative to the close of the scene.

'The inhabitants of Paris in arms were spectators of his execution. They had been assembled to protect it. The commune of Paris well knew that the immense majority of its citizens saw this sacrifice with horror. It armed them, to remove every ground for its fears; in other words, it marshalled them timid and suspicious under the command of its lictors. As courage is propagated in a multitude by the multitude itself, so its terror is never more profound than when reflected from every eye at once. The people, alarmed, repaired to their sections. Woe to the absent, their names were enrolled. On entering the ranks, each was astonished to meet with so many men eager for the blood of the King—all the dastardly had swoln the number. A double row of men, thus assembled, filled all the streets through which Louis was conducted to the scaffold. When they saw him, or fancied they saw him, (he was almost wholly concealed in the carriage by those along with him), the quivering arms seemed ready to fall from their hands. Ferocious cries were little reechoed—sobs were suppressed—every one feared to have been detected. But when Louis had ceased to live, the public grief exhibited of itself a more striking testimony. Persons came back gloomy, absorbed in thought: the mob itself, whether from compassion or disappointed curiosity, loaded Santerre with imprecations for having drowned the last words of the King. During the whole day Paris was still, almost a desert—the inhabitants shut themselves within their families to weep—the streets were only crossed at intervals by bands of ruffians, whose songs and barbarous dances were characteristic of fury, instead of joy they strove to imitate.'

The assassination of a Jacobin deputy who had voted for the death of the King, was followed with important consequences. Availing themselves of this event, to represent the common danger by which both parties were threatened, some deputies proposed a reconciliation between the Girondins and their opponents. This hollow truce was fatal to the former. As its price, they parted with their only prop, Roland, who was dismissed from his

office of Minister of the Interior; the decree against the Septembrisers was suspended. But the Jacobins could not long dissemble their hostility: the heads of the leading Girondins were demanded at the bar of the Convention; a plot even was formed to assassinate the whole party within its walls. Had the Girondins improved, with the firmness and dexterity of which their adversaries afforded them so many examples, the detection and consequent failure of this conspiracy, it would be difficult to calculate how nearly they might have approached to a final triumph. A commission of twelve was appointed, empowered to take cognizance of all plots against the republic. They began by arresting Hebert, the turbulent solicitor of the Commune of Paris. Their enemies were panic-struck; they dreaded a formidable reaction; but when they saw no further blow attempted, their confidence returned, and they resolved to precipitate the fall of such timid adversaries. The Convention was besieged by tumultuous petitioners; the firmness of Lanjuinais for a time sustained the wavering resolutions of his colleagues; but they yielded at length to the ignominy of releasing the prisoner, abolishing the commission, and of allowing forty sous per day to the insurgents, authors of their humiliation. What barrier remained to protect them? Sensible they were now at the mercy of their opponents, several deputies friendly to them repaired to Danton.

'They had clearly observed that this powerful demagogue, though employing the commune as his instrument, viewed it with apprehension —that he thirsted less for vengeance than for rule. They came to offer him the Dictatorship. Danton appeared considerably staggered by this late proposal He thought that the danger might still be warded off by him; but he distrusted the Girondins, and fancied they would not be disposed to ratify the treaty. He repeated, at different times, "They have no confidence," and departed. It was no doubt the thought of despair to offer the Dictatorship to Danton. Had he been invested with it by the Convention, a reign violent, cruel, disgraced with a thousand traits of opprobium had commenced; but it would have fallen far short of the tyranny, with a hundred thousand heads, that was established by the insurrection of the following day.'

The day alluded to is the famous 2d of June, that terminated in the arrestation of all the leading Girondins, and of several intrepid members who occasionally supported them. We must apologize for giving very partial extracts of a narrative that is worthy of being inserted at full length.

The Commune of Paris, resolved on the downfal of the Girondins, called all the sections to arms; carefully directing, however, that to those of St. Antoine and St. Marceau should be assigned the special service of overawing the Convention, and of

proceeding to what extremities the day might require. Henriot, a daring Jacobin, was appointed Commander in Chief. The Girondins, with their usual want of concert, neither wholly absented themselves from, nor repaired in a body to the Convention. The Assembly was, unknown to itself, beset on every quarter.

'Henriot permitted a body of petitioners to pass through his ranks.—"Deliver up to the people," they cry, "the traitorous and conspiring deputies." "Was it then without reason," exclaims Lanjuinais, "that we denounced to you the plots of an usurping Commune? Well, abandon now to that Commune your colleagues, your authority, your honour.—Crouch under these new tyrants; you who rejected the opportunity of punishing them; or rather imitate us. Men, whom they more particularly threaten, await and brave their fury. You may make me fall beneath their steel, but not at their feet." The courage of a single man upholds the Convention; the murderous petition is rejected by the order of the day.

'A scene of tumult ensued—the sovereign people would be obeyed. Barrere proposes, as a middle expedient, that the Girondins should suspend themselves. Four obey the invitation. Barbaroux disdains the example—is torn from the tribune.

'Lanjuinais hurries towards it. Legendre, then a fanatical follower of Danton, and even of Marat; Legendre, who since opened his heart to humane and generous sentiments, had the brutal ferocity of raising his hands against Lanjuinais, and threw him down. He had not affected the courage, nor even the serenity of the upright man. The voice of Lanjuinais is again heard. "The ancients, when they prepared a sacrifice, crowned their victim with flowers and garlands; and you, more cruel, you assault, with disgraceful blows; you outrage the victim that makes no effort to escape your knife." The effect of these eloquent words was, to produce a momentary silence on the part of those executioners. They heard, without daring to interrupt him; the same orator threatens them with the awful consequences of their triumph; their future dissentions; the horror attached to their names; and this greatest evil, that of having formed such a compact with crimes, that crimes henceforward would retain them in spite of themselves. He had not ceased speaking, when a part of his prediction seemed accomplishing.'

A friend of Danton had been insulted unknowingly by the mob surrounding the Convention. Danton, enraged, proposes that the whole Convention should go out to the armed body and make sure of its dispositions.

'The Convention arrives at a passage opening upon *the Place du Carousel.* Henriot, his aides-de-camp, several members of the Commune, supported by a triple row of bayonets and pikes, come forward to close the issue. The President reads, with a timid voice, the decree that has been passed. "Return," cries the Revolutionary General, "return to thy post." Darest thou give orders to the insurgent people? the peo-

ple wills that the traitors should be given up; give them up, or go back."—He then exclaims, "Cannoneers, to your guns! Citizens, to arms!" Cannons charged with grape are pointed against the Convention; pieces are levelled against many of the deputies. They fly. Marat embraces Henriot, and thanks him in the name of the country. The monster is heard on all sides vociferating, "Comrades, no weakness! Don't quit your post till they are delivered up!" The Conventional procession seeks a passage by two other outlets, and twice it is again repulsed. Marat appears at the head of a hundred ruffians, ready to perpetrate any massacre at his signal. "I order you," he calls out to the Convention, "I order you, in the name of the people, to go in, to deliberate and obey." The members reenter the Assembly. A man who, by his infirmities, seemed fitted to be an object of pity, but was only a monster of iniquity, Couthon, with a tranquil voice, with the most dreadful air, begins, "Well, my colleagues, you have now convinced yourselves that the Convention is perfectly free. The horror of the people is only declared against faithless mandatories; but as for us, we are still environed with all their respect, with all their affection. What wait we for? Let us obey at once the calls of our conscience, and their wishes. I propose that Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, (then followed twenty-seven names of the most eminent Girondins), be put in arrest at their respective homes."—The decree was carried.

History does not exhibit a more wonderful vicissitude of fortune than the triumphs of the Jacobins after this period. Hated even in the convention; detested by the great majority of the inhabitants of Paris; threatened with a civil war in seventy departments that promised at first to espouse the cause of the Girondins; worsted already in many engagements with the Vendeans, who had raised the standard of Royalty; the frontiers assailed by the best disciplined armies of Europe; the General that had led their armies to victory abandoning their cause. In scarcely eight months this awful aspect was completely changed; and a division among themselves was the sole source of their ruin.

It would evidently lead us into too wide a field, did we attempt to follow M. Lacretelle in his judicious remarks on this variety of topics. As a general observation, it may be stated, that the same want of concert, which had proved so fatal to the Girondins in the Convention, attended them in their flight. The Jacobins anticipated them in all their designs; and, by lavishing money to the lowest populace, seduced them to their cause. The mutual hatred between the Republicans and Royalists not only prevented co-operation, but materially counteracted the progress of the latter. They, from their perfect union and greater vigour, were by far the most formidable enemy of the Convention; and M. Lacretelle leaves his reader strong grounds to conjecture, that, had they obtained a timely supply, though of ammunition only,

from Great Britain (which they repeatedly solicited), or had not the King of Prussia, with singular inadvertence at least, permitted the entire garrison of Mentz to be sent against them, the issue of the contest must have been widely different. With regard to the operations of the combined powers, he censures the long inactivity of the Prince of Cobourg, at a crisis when the French army was almost totally disorganized by the defection of Dumourier: and he characterises, in rather unqualified terms, the order of the Cabinet of St. James, so he styles it, by which the forces of the Duke of York were separated from the main army; an event followed by our discomfiture at Dunkirk. The reduction of Lyons after a siege, the account of which forms a most awful, yet interesting episode in his history, might, he insinuates, have been doubtful, had a diversion been effected on the side of Savoy, or had the Austrian and Prussian armies cooperated in the manner that was proposed. He taxes, moreover, the generals of the latter with an unaccountable and fatal supineness in following up their decisive successes at the lines of Weissemburg.

But the great engine by which the Jacobins were enabled to crush their adversaries, and to raise armies, which, accumulating like torrents, ultimately subdued resistance, was the terrible law of the 17th September, which consigned to the prisons (an intermediate step to the guillotine) all persons reputed *suspicious*. From that decree there did not merely result a term, whose legal import might be applied to at least four fifths of the population of France; the means provided for its execution created a tyranny with branches more widely disseminated than the world had hitherto beheld. To the revolutionary committees was delegated the unlimited power of arrestation. 'Of these,' says M. Lacretelle, 'one at least was appointed in every village; Paris alone had forty-eight; in short, throughout the country, two hundred thousand men chosen from the dregs and refuse of society, were constituted sovereign arbiters of the liberties and lives of the superior orders.' One is astonished, that a law thus glaringly outrageous, should not have operated an universal revolt; still more, that when the scaffold afterwards daily streamed with blood, the same passive submission should have prevailed. M. Lacretelle remarks, and no doubt with justice, that the war, which then threatened the very existence of the country, diverted a spirit, which despair itself must have at last forced into action. Yet, after making every allowance for this, can France escape the reproaches of posterity for a total want of the most exalted courage? Courage in the field her inhabitants have unquestionably shewn: but there is a courage still superior, which, without any assurance of cooperation, with no views of glory and promotion

to support it, would have disdained to crouch beneath a vulgar tyrant; intent, when friends, when a country pleaded for deliverance, at every risk, to try the chances of salvation. Of this heroic magnanimity no nation has afforded fewer striking examples.

It would be painful to the reader, were we to select the shocking details that are given of the enormities that accompanied and followed the execution of the Queen, and of the most distinguished Girondins. We hasten to a more pleasing prospect, the divisions among the Jacobin party. The committee of Public Safety (a dictatorship barely modified) had been transferred from the hands of Danton into those of Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot D'Herbois. Carnot, though a member, confined himself entirely to the war department. Danton had long been their rival in popularity and influence;—he did not share their insatiable cruelty;—he was marked out for destruction.

'His revolutionary principles had long since met with their full gratification. To abstain from a crime, necessary or barely useful, he reputed weakness; but to prolong crimes beyond necessity—never to enjoy the reward, and ever to continue their slave, excited equally his contempt and indignation. Terror indeed was his system; but he thought of securing its effects with a sword suspended—not incessantly plunged in the breast of a victim. He preferred a massacre to a long succession of executions.

He was duped by the hypocritical representations and friendly professions of Robespierre, who advised him a temporary retreat from Paris; a fatal counsel with which he complied. M. Lacretelle gives a truly curious account of the artifices by which Robespierre still succeeded in deceiving him, on his return after an absence of nearly six months. He persuaded him that he sympathized in all his horror against the revolutionary atrocities; that the Commune of Paris was their real author; and that a confidential union between them could alone effect their triumph over a formidable antagonist. He thus secured a cooperation that enabled him to destroy that Commune, which had long been the object of his jealousy and apprehension. Danton, almost immediately after, fell the victim of his unsuspicious temper. The Committee of Public Safety now ruled supreme; and this, accordingly, was the most sanguinary period of the reign of terror. But unbounded power necessarily sowed the seeds of dissension among its members. St. Just and Couthon, indeed, acknowledged the supremacy of Robespierre: but their colleagues were not equally humble. Collot D'Herbois, though he had lost a powerful support in the Commune of Paris, still hoped to obtain the dictatorship from the hands of the vilest populace. The views of

Billaud-Varennes were not less lofty, but conducted with greater art and dissimulation.

'I have already named,' observes M. Lacretelle, 'two enemies of Robespierre among the colleagues of his tyranny, Billaud-Varennes and Collot D'Herbois. The first of these was the most formidable. The hatred this monster bore to the whole human race, did not check him from forming all the combinations that were necessary to involve a rival in ruin, who seconded him in all his projects of extermination. Both were ambitious of reigniug over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed. Billaud was still able to dissemble his. Robespierre, tormented by the furies, lost each day the means of security and domination which he had derived from a tortuous mind, from an hypocritical, persevering character. He was a villain unmasked, whose every feint was divulged. He would have lost in an attempt to impose upon his enemies, the time it was necessary for him to employ in their destruction. The tyrant was lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps: such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud; but, more hardy in crimes, he enveloped his projects with deeper obscurity, prepared his blows with greater art.'

Robespierre conceived a scheme, which, even if it had been practicable, M. Lacretelle observes, the extreme poverty of his imagination must have rendered abortive—of establishing deism as the national religion, and of converting the pontificate into the step of his elevation to sole dominion. The little sensation produced on the public mind by his pompous installation, soon blighted his hopes; and, irritated by the opposition of Collot D'Herbois and Billaud, he wholly absented himself from the Committee of Public Safety, and resolved their destruction. From friendship, or interested views, they had shielded Carnot from his fury; and, postponing their hatred to their fears of Robespierre, they had equally refused to sacrifice the remains of Danton's party. Nothing is more curious in this history than the following:

'But it was for the first time Robespierre saw himself sole leader of a conspiracy. He now sunk beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his strength, to his talents. .. ... New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the unsufferable perturbation of his soul, added to the perplexity that bewildered his resolutions. That man, whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice, by the appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to the grossest debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, whose proprietor had been his victim, surrounded by the most ferocious beings and the most degraded of women, he sought intoxication, sensual pleasures; and could only perhaps experience their horrors. Who would believe it? The shocking Couthon essayed also the same debaucheries..... How many torments surround-

ed Robespierre in this asylum! (an ironmonger's at Paris where he resided.) The papers there found confirm this assertion. He received a multitude of letters expressive of the wildest adoration; but others contained threats, imprecations that must have congealed his blood. Read these appalling words that were addressed to him:—"This hand, that writes thy doom; this hand, which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain; this hand, that presses thine with horror, shall pierce thy inhuman heart. Every day I am with thee: every day I see thee; at every hour my uplifted arm seeks thy breast. O thou vilest of men! live still a while to think on me; sleep to dream of me; let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment. Farewell. This very day, in beholding thee, I shall enjoy thy terror.'

The author of this striking apostrophe is unknown. An inexplicable fatality seems to have urged Robespierre to give the signal for his own destruction. On the 26th of July he harangued the Convention; he revealed to it all the jealousies and fears that distracted him; he designated the great majority of its members for vengeance, and yet concluded with proposing nothing. Alarm was general. The friends of Danton, by their dexterity, perseverance and intrepidity, improved it into a bond of union between the different parties. The decree for printing his speech was rescinded after having been passed. The night passed in mutual preparations for hostilities. Robespierre gave vent to his despondency in the Jacobin Club: they swore to extirpate his enemies, and lists were formed of the intended victims. The friends of Danton repaired to the surviving Girondins, conjuring them to join the next day in overwhelming the tyrant. With affected concern for their authority, they assured the Committee of Public Safety of their devotion and urged them to a decisive blow. It was struck on the following day. We must refer the reader for minute details to M. Lacretelle. A decree of accusation was carried against Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, and Lebas. The Convention now experienced a dilemma; the Revolutionary Tribunal was wholly composed of their creatures. 'Providence' says our author, 'so ordered the subsequent events of the day, that it should prove the salvation of mankind.'

The arrested deputies had been committed to the charge of the Committees. The Jacobins rescued them from their feeble guards and equally delivered Henriot their general, who had been seized by order of the Convention. They collected their trained bands, and were now bent on a general massacre of the Assembly. Collot D'Herbois, with the utmost trepidation, announced their proceedings and their designs. 'Let us return thanks to destiny,' exclaims one of Danton's partizans; 'I prefer Robespierre in rebellion to Robespierre in submission. We must have awaited his judgement: it is now decided.' Let us outlaw him. The whole

commune is involved in the same decree. Barras is appointed commander of the national guard. Other deputies are despatched to rouse the inhabitants of Paris in defence of the Convention.

'Barras did not chuse to wait till all his promised succours should arrive. He would not lose the opportunity of the first onset with men who had always been suffered to begin the attack. As soon as he had formed four or five battalions, "My friends," he cried, "The Convention is disposed to reward your alacrity in coming first. 'Tis you shall conduct the tyrant to it." Applauses ensue—they march. *It is the duty of the historian to observe here, that the battalions thus distinguished for their diligence, were chiefly composed of artizans, men poor, who saw in Robespierre the author of massacres, for which they daily conceived increasing horror.*...Barras arrives with his battalions: he had so distributed them as to command every issue from the seat of the commune. Night concealed their small number. The victory, than which none more essential to nations was ever obtained, was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of perishing in battle. The dastardly Robespierre had not even appeared in the midst of his revolutionary bands. They laid down their arms on the first summons... The Revolutionary Tribunal was condemned to pass sentence upon them: It was executed on the 28th at four in the afternoon. They were dragged, covered with blood and with mud, under the eyes of a people delirious with joy. Never did criminal experience more dreadful agony than Robespierre. But, heaven and mankind, were they avenged!'

The history of the Convention from this period till the 4th of October 1795, when it was dissolved, is given in a very imperfect manner, from the very reduced scale of abridgement on which it is conducted. In the extracts which we have now given, we have chiefly had it in view to lay before our readers those parts of the story that are least accurately known in this country, and to direct their attention to those indications of temper and impartiality which appear to us to constitute its chief recommendation.

Art. XIV. *The Sabbath: A Poem.* Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. To which are now added, Sabbath Walks. 12mo. pp. 170. Edinburgh and London, 1805.

WE do not know whether to attribute the success of this little volume to the love of poetry or the love of religion; but from one or both of these laudable dispositions, which are known to prevail with extraordinary vigour in this part of the united kingdoms, the publisher has been enabled to dispose of one entire impression in the course of a very few weeks; and we are

called upon to give some account of a second edition, before many of our English readers are likely to have heard of the publication. This is a duty, however, which we discharge with considerable pleasure towards this anonymous author; for he has much more merit than many of those with whose names the printers are familiar.

The subject does not admit of much novelty; and accordingly, when the author sticks to it, he is far from being original. He indulges in digressions, however, with laudable liberality, and is not very scrupulous about the strength of the tie which connects them with the subject of his poem. Thus we are presented with a prison scene, and a dissertation on criminal law—a death and burial—a view of the slave trade—of emigrations from the Highlands—of the invasion of Switzerland and the Jewish jubilee—together with a variety of other topics that have not any immediate relation either to each other, or to the institution of the Christian Sabbath. None of these subjects, our readers will perceive, are new; nor is there any thing very striking in this author's manner of treating them. He has borrowed, very freely indeed, from most of the English poets, though it should be observed in his favour, that he has rarely made use of their words, and generally imitated their good passages.

The poem is written, we think, partly upon the model of the Grave of Blair, from which the cast of the diction, and the cadence of the verse, appear to us to be evidently copied! and partly on that of the Task of Cowper, in which the author was probably glad to find a precedent for his wanderings and digressions. It opens with the following passage.

> 'How still the morning of the hallow'd day!
> Mute is the voice of rural labour, hush'd
> The ploughboy's whistle, and the milkmaid's song.
> The scythe lies glitt'ring in the dewy wreath
> Of tedded grass, mingled with fading flowers,
> That yester-morn bloom'd waving in the breeze:
> Sounds the most faint attract the ear,—the hum
> Of early bee, the trick'ling of the dew,
> The distant bleating, midway up the hill.
> Calmness seems thron'd on yon unmoving cloud.
> To him who wanders o'er the upland leas,
> The blackbird's note comes mellower from the dale;
> And sweeter from the sky the gladsome lark
> Warbles his heav'n-tun'd song: the lulling brook
> Murmurs more gently down the deep-sunk glen;
> While from yon lowly roof, whose curling smoke
> O'ermounts the mist, is heard, at intervals,
> The voice of psalms, the simple song of praise.' p. 9, 10.

This passage has certainly some poetical merit; but our readers will probably be more struck with the resemblance it bears to the following beautiful sonnet, which is too close, we think, for both of them to be original.

Sonnet on Sabbath Morn.

'With silent awe I hail the sacred morn,
That scarcely wakes while all the fields are still!
A soothing calm on every breeze is borne;
A graver murmur gurgles from the rill;
And echo answers softer from the hill,
And softer sings the linnet from the thorn;
The sky-lark warbles in a tone less shrill,
Hail, light serene! hail, sacred Sabbath morn!
The rooks sail silent by in airy drove;
The sky a placid yellow lustre throws;
The gales that lately sigh'd along the grove
Have hush'd their downy wings in dead repose;
The hovering rack of clouds forgets to move:
So soft the day when the first morn arose!

Now, this sonnet, we have occasion to know, was written upwards of five years ago by Dr. Leyden, now of Madras; and though we believe it was never before printed, many copies of it have been in circulation among the poetical *amateurs* of this literary metropolis. As there is no physical truth or propriety in considering Sunday as calmer than any other day in the week, the coincidence becomes the more suspicious: and if these suspicions be well founded, we beg leave to remind this author, that though it may sometimes be fair enough to borrow from a printed book without special acknowledgment, yet this is an indispensable ceremony where we are indebted to the MS. of another for any thing which is printed as our own.

The most original, and perhaps the most striking passage in the poem, is that which describes the unhoused congregations and Sabbath devotions of the persecuted Presbyterians and Cameronians in the days of Charles II.

'Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,
O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought
The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,
Dispart to diff'rent seas: Fast by such brooks,
A little glen is sometimes scoop'd, a plat
With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem
Amid the heathery wild, that all around
Fatigues the eye: in solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foil'd
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws:
There, leaning on his spear, (one of th' array

That, in the times of old, had scath'd the rose
On England's banner, and had pow'rless struck
Th' infatuate monarch and his wav'ring host,
Yet rang'd itself to aid his son dethron'd).
The lyart veteran heard the word of God,
By CAMERON thunder'd, or by RENWICK pour'd
In gentle stream: then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise: the wheeling plover ceas'd
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,
And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.
But years more gloomy followed; and no more
Th' assembled people dar'd, in face of day,
To worship God, or even at the dead
Of night, save when the wint'ry storm rav'd fierce,
And thunder peals compell'd the men of blood
To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly
The scatter'd few would meet, in some deep dell
By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,
Their faithful pastor's voice: He by the gleam
Of sheeted lightning op'd the sacred book,
And words of comfort spake: Over their souls
His accents soothing came,—as to her young
The heathfowl's plumes, when at the close of eve
She gathers in mournful her brood dispers'd
By murd'rous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads
Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast
They cherish'd cow'r amid the purple blooms.' p. 18—20.

The following sketch is not without merit—

'Or turn thee to that house, with studded doors,
And iron-visor'd windows,—even there
The Sabbath sheds a beam of bliss, though faint;
The debtors's friends (for still he hath some friends)
Have time to visit him; the blossoming pea,
That climbs the rust-worn bars, seems fresher ting'd;
And on the little turf, this day renew'd,
The lark, his prison-mate, quivers the wing
With more than wonted joy. See, through the bars,
That pallid face retreating from the view,
That glittering eye, following with hopeless look,
The friends of former years, now passing by
In peaceful fellowship to worship God.' p. 27.

The following similes we think are original, and possess considerable poetical beauty—

'She smil'd in death, and still her cold pale face
Retains that smile; as when a waveless lake,
In which the wint'ry stars all bright appear,

Is sheeted by a nightly frost with ice,
Still it reflects the face of heav'n unchang'd,
Unruffled by the breeze or sweeping blast.' p. 22, 23.

'He never longs to read the sadd'ning tale
Of endless wars; and seldom does he hear
The tale of woe; and ere it reaches him,
Rumour, so loud when new, has died away
Into a whisper, on the memory borne
Of casual traveller:—As on the deep,
Far from the sight of land, when all around
Is waveless calm, the sudden tremulous swell,
That gently heaves the ship, tells, as it rolls,
Of earthquakes dread, and cities overthrown.' p. 57, 58.

There are many other passages in the poem which bear marks of genius; but the greater part of it is written in a heavy and inelegant manner. The diction throughout is tainted with vulgarity, and there is no selection of words, images or sentiments, to conciliate the favour of the fastidious reader. The author has evidently some talents for poetical composition, and is never absolutely absurd, tedious or silly; but he has no delicacy of taste or imagination: he does not seem to feel the force of the sanction against poetical mediocrity, and his ear appears to have no perception of the finer harmony of versification. If he be a young man, we think there are considerable hopes of him; but if this be the production of maturer talents, we cannot in our conscience, exhort him to continue in the service of the muses.

This volume, however, at all events, has nothing but its poetical merit to stand upon. It contains a good deal of doctrine and argumentation, indeed, both in the text and in the notes; but nothing that is not either very trite or very shallow and extravagant. The author talks very big about the inhumanity and injustice of imprisonment for debt, and about the cruel monopolies by which the Highland shepherds are driven from their mountains. He dogmatises in the same presumptuous style on the character of Bonaparte, and on the most adviseable plan for recruiting the British army, and seems as perfectly persuaded of his own infallibility upon all these subjects, as his readers, we apprehend, must be of his insufficiency. In a poem with such a title, it was certainly natural to expect some consistency in the ecclesiastical tenets of the author; but we have been completely baffled in our attempts to discover to what persuasion he belongs. He seems in many passages to be desperately enamoured of the old Covenanters, Cameronians and Independents, and gives some obscure hints of his intention to immortalize the names of their chief pastors in another poem; but by and by we find him talking with great enthusiasm of the funeral service of the church of England, and

of the lofty pealing of the organ, both of which would have been regarded as antichristian abominations, either by the old Covenanters or by the modern Presbyterians of Scotland. To the principal poem are subjoined four small ones, describing a Sabbath walk in each of the four seasons of the year. They contain merely some description of the rural scenery appropriate to those seasons, and seem to have no necessary connexion with the Sabbath. They are by no means without merit however, and give us rather a favourable impression of the author's talent for descriptive poetry: the versification is smoother than in the long poem, and the pictures are sketched with greater truth and conciseness. The whole publication indeed, though not entitled to stand in the first rank of poetical excellence, is respectably executed, and may be considered as very creditable, either to a beginner, or to one who does not look upon poetry as his primary vocation.

ART. XV. *An Account of the Astronomical Discoveries of* KEPLER: *including an Historical Review of the Systems which had successively prevailed before his time.* By Robert Small, D.D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1804. One vol. 8vo.

THE history of astronomy may be distinguished into two grand periods. The first period commences with the origin of the science, and comprehends many centuries, terminating with the labours of Tycho Brahé. During this long interval, the theory of astronomy was guided by one prevailing principle, that of uniform circular motion; which, if it did not account for the celestial phenomena according to our notions of philosophy, served at least to connect in the imagination the various discordant motions observed in the heavens. This hypothesis, suggested at first by its simplicity, became in a manner a sacred and indisputable principle, and at last formed the greatest obstacle to improvement in the science.

The second period in the history of astronomy, commences with the discoveries of Kepler, and comprehends the present times. In the course of about two hundred years, the ancient theories have been destroyed; and of the labours of so many centuries, the modern astronomer retains almost nothing, excepting the facts and observations that enable him to compare his own deductions with the former state of the heavens. All the complicated phenomena anciently known, as well as many small irregularities, that nicer instruments and more accurate observation

have detected in later times, have been shewn to be the necessary consequences of one common principle or general fact, modified by the actual state of the system at some given epoch. The noble discoveries accomplished in this second period of the history of astronomy, will ever be a favourite and instructive subject of contemplation to the true philosopher. In tracing the actual progress of the mind in its most successful investigation of natural causes, he will form a just estimate of the object of human knowledge, and of the extent of the human faculties.

The discoveries due to the sagacity and persevering research of Kepler, a German astronomer, born at Wirtemberg in 1571, make a capital part in the great body of astronomical science. The facts commonly known by the name of Kepler's Laws, are indeed the ground-work of modern astronomy, on which the whole superstructure rests. Yet, of the merit of this great man little is in general known, excepting the mere result of his researches. Writers on astronomy are for the most part contented with enunciating, in few words, his more capital discoveries—or, if any of them enter into a detail of his labours, it is such a detail as serves rather to excite than to satisfy curiosity.

It is, therefore, with pleasure, that we announce the present performance to the public. In a book of small magnitude, written with precision, and in a style simple and perspicuous, the author has communicated much valuable information, which can only be supplied by the original writings from which it is compiled. Dr. Small has, we think, with ability, filled up the chasm between the ancient and the modern astronomy; between that period of the science in which hypotheses predominated, and the present period in which hypotheses are rigidly subjected to the test of experiment, and are received into the class of legitimate truths, or rejected as spurious, according as they are found to tally with observation or not. The design of the author is thus stated in his own words:

'As the discoveries of Kepler have contributed more than all other causes to raise the science of astronomy to its present state of improvement, they not only deserve full and particular explication, but also all the circumstances which led to them, and even the mistakes committed in their prosecution, become interesting objects of curiosity. It is a just observation of his, that we not only pardon Columbus and the Portuguese navigators, for relating their errors; the former in the discovery of America, and the latter in the circumnavigation of Africa; but should be deprived of much instruction and satisfaction if those errors were omitted. My principal intention, therefore, in the present publication, is to give a more full and particular account of Kepler's discoveries, than any to be found in the usual systems, or the general histories of astronomy: and to extract the account from his own investigations.—

These are chiefly contained in his Commentary on the Motions of Mars; and I have often regretted that a work, containing such invaluable discoveries, should not be more generally and distinctly known. This work claims attention for another reason, that it exhibited, even prior to the publication of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, a more perfect example, than perhaps ever was given, of legitimate connexion between theory and experiment; of experiments suggested by theory, and of theory submitted without prejudice to the test and decision of experiments. But, in order to form a just estimate of those discoveries, nay, perhaps, a distinct conception of the investigations by which they were produced, it seemed absolutely necessary to prefix an account of the more ancient astronomical theories, and of the principal phenomena which they were contrived and supposed to explain.' p. 1, 2.

In the execution of this plan, Dr. Small, in his first chapter, gives a concise, but perspicuous statement of the more noted celestial phenomena: And, in the three following chapters, he proceeds to lay before his readers an account of the ancient theories, by which the various observed motions were connected together and explained. The author seems to have laboured this part of his work with diligence and success; entering into sufficient detail to convey real knowledge, and to enable his reader to accompany Kepler in his several researches; but at the same time avoiding too much prolixity in speculations, that are now of no further importance, than as they illustrate the period of astronomy under review. In all the ancient systems, the predominant principle is the hypothesis of uniform motion in a circle. Whatsoever arrangement of the heavenly bodies was preferred, this prejudice had equal influence. The great problem that the ancient astronomers proposed to themselves, was to reconcile the observed motions with their favourite principle. Copernicus, by reviving the opinion of the Earth's motion round the Sun, rendered the apparent motions of the other planets much more simple to the imagination: but so far was he from rejecting the established hypothesis of uniform circular motion, that his researches were guided by a desire to reconcile the planetary inequalities with that sacred principle, more perfectly than in the system of Ptolemy.

If we examine the leading principle of the ancient astronomy, with the view of estimating its fitness to represent the planetary motions, we shall be forced to bestow on it the praise of ingenuity and happy contrivance. The angular motion of each of the planets, consists of two parts; one part increasing uniformly with the time; and another part that is periodical, and acquires all degrees of magnitude, within a certain limit in the several parts of the orbit. Now, of every such motion, we may affirm, that it may be represented to any degree of accuracy, by the ancient contrivance of epicycles and deferents. Accordingly, the

ancient systems represented, with tolerable accuracy, those observed places of the planets that depended only on the real angular motions; as at the oppositions. But they failed when applied to other positions of the planets and to the latitudes; where the apparent places depend not only on the angular motions, but likewise on the relative distances. Here then it was that all the ancient systems were alike vulnerable; and it was by a strict comparison of observation with theory, in such circumstances, that Kepler at last found himself obliged to depart from that principle of uniform circular motion, which had been consecrated by the unqualified assent of all his predecessors.

In the fifth chapter, Dr. Small enters on his main design. A short account is given of Kepler's family, of his first views and studies, and of his connexion with Tycho Brahé. Admitted to peruse the great collection of accurate observations accumulated by the Danish astronomer, Kepler proceeded to profit by his advantages, and to verify his speculations by the test of experiment. In the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters, the author details the preliminary investigations that gradually paved the way to the discovery of the elliptic form of the planetary orbits.

The situation of the heavenly bodies in respect to one another depends on two things; on the real angular motions, and on the relative distances. But when a planet is in opposition, the apparent places, as seen from the Earth and Sun, are coincident, and its position is affected only by the angular motions: And hence observations in opposition, being the simplest and least of all liable to inaccuracy, are of great use in astronomy. In the ancient systems, it was by means of such observations alone that the orbits of the superior planets were determined. But in observing oppositions, a practice had been introduced, that in part defeated the very purpose for which such observations were preferred to all others. A planet was reckoned to be in opposition when its place in the heavens was removed 180° in longitude, not from the real place of the Sun, but from his mean place. It is evident that, by this practice, the observer was not situated in the same line with the Sun and the planet at the computed time of opposition; and therefore the apparent place of the planet was not entirely divested of the second inequality, excepting in the rare case, where the true place of the Sun coincided with his mean place. To this practice Kepler objected. He conceived the design of determining the orbit of Mars from real, instead of mean, oppositions; and he entertained the most sanguine expectations of completely reforming the theory of the planets by his projected innovation.

Kepler's intended substitution of real or apparent, for mean oppositions, led him to examine the practice of astronomers in an-

other important point. It very seldom happens that a planet is found in the plane of the ecliptic, in which the motions of the Sun are performed; and, in order to ascertain the place of the planet in its orbit at the time of observation, a reduction from the ecliptic to the plane of the orbit becomes necessary. In examining the ancient methods of reduction, Kepler found them to be erroneous and inconsistent; and his investigations ultimately established this important conclusion, that the orbits of the planets are invariable planes, intersecting one another in lines passing through the Sun's centre:

'An improvement' (Dr. Small remarks) 'more important, and of greater consequence, to simplify the science, than any which had been introduced in all the preceding ages; and his successful and decisive establishment of its truth and propriety may be justly ranked among his greatest discoveries; and equally deserves our attention with those which have been more generally celebrated.'

Kepler having overcome all the difficulties that opposed his projected innovation, at last completed a theory of Mars, derived solely from apparent oppositions. In judging of the merits of this new theory, we must allow it to have been a real improvement, independent of the great discovery of the invariable inclinations of the planetary orbits. It was, indeed, the nearest approximation to the truth, consistent with the supposition of circular orbits. Its accuracy was unquestionable in representing the oppositions: but it totally failed when applied to the latitudes and to the longitudes out of opposition.

Disappointed in the high expectations he had entertained of his new theory, Kepler yet drew from its failure an important inference, the first step to emancipation from the ancient prejudice of uniform circular motion. For as the theory involved only two suppositions, viz. that the orbit of Mars was a circle, and that the motion of the planet was uniform about a fixed point in the line of apsides, he justly concluded, that one at least of these two suppositions was false. He now prepared for further researches; but, first of all, judged it necessary to examine the circumstances that affected the theory of the Earth's annual motion. For as the latitudes of the planets, and the longitudes out of opposition, (the phenomena which had hitherto rendered his attempts abortive), depended on the distances of the Earth from the Sun, it was requisite to be assured that no errors crept in from this quarter.

Nor was Kepler without suspicions of inaccuracy in the terrestrial orbit. He had early remarked it as an anomaly, that an equant was assigned to all the planets, the Earth or Sun excepted; and, although the authority of all astronomers was against him,

he even then presumed to doubt of the justness of the exception. Resuming the examination of this point on the present occasion, he established, by multiplied and undeniable proofs, that the eccentricity was bisected in the orbit of the Earth or Sun, as well as in the orbits of the other planets.

Kepler, in turning his attention to the solar theory, had also a farther improvement in view, viz. a method for deriving the equations of the planetary orbits from a less arbitrary and precarious principle than that of the equant, or a centre of uniform angular motion. He had remarked, that it is a general fact in the solar system, that the velocity of a planet diminishes as it recedes from the sun, and increases as it approaches that luminary: and he concluded, that these two quantities, the velocity of the planet and its distance from the sun, must be related according to some law, which, if discovered, would enable astronomers to calculate the rate of a planet's motion for all points of its orbit, and, of course, to determine the equation or correction due to the mean motion in every such point. This was undoubtedly the conclusion of a man of genius and originality; for though we are now familiar with the notion, that whenever the variations of one quantity depend on those of another, the one of the quantities may be expressed by some function of the other; yet in the days of Kepler it must have required no small effort of generalization to perceive this truth, and the important consequences which result from it. Great difficulties, however, stood in the way of the investigation; and Kepler had to struggle not only with his own precipitancy, which frequently led him into error, but with the imperfections of the geometry of that age, which were great, in all matters connected with the quadrature of curves.

His ingenuity and perseverance, however, prevailed at last. He found, that the times of describing small arches of the Earth's orbit, are as the distances from the Sun; that therefore the times of describing any arches whatever, must be as the sums of those distances; and having satisfied himself, from geometrical considerations, that the sum of the distances may be expounded (at least nearly) by the area contained between the arch and the radii drawn from its extremities to the centre, he inferred, that the times of describing any arches whatever are proportional to those areas.

In consequence of this discovery, Kepler proceeded to speculate on the nature of the force by which this curious adjustment of the velocities of the planets, to their distances from the centres of their orbits, is produced. The time, however, had not yet arrived when, even in the hands of Kepler, this inquiry could be attended with success. He conceived that the motions of the

planets are produced by certain fibres extending indefinitely from the Sun, and revolving with that body, so as to impel the planets in a direction from west to east, though not every where with the same velocity, but with a velocity that varied according to the distance, the resistance of the medium, and the tendency of the planet to rest, or its vis inertiæ, which, as Dr. Small justly remarks, did not signify, with Kepler, an indifference to motion or rest, but a real tendency to the latter, supposed to be inherent in all bodies.

But leaving those visions which time has entirely dissipated, let us follow this great man, as his commentator has done, in those discoveries which time has fully established. When he resumed the consideration of the orbit of Mars, he soon saw reason to conclude that this body describes its orbit under the guidance of the same law that he had just found to hold in the Earth, viz. that the areas described by a line drawn from the planet to the Sun, are every whese proportional to the time.

The attempt, however, of computing the equation of Mars's motion on this principle, was attended with much difficulty, on account of the great eccentricity of the orbit, but still more from that prejudice in favour of the old doctrine of circular orbits, which has been already mentioned. In his new method of computing the equations, Kepler supposed the orbit to be a circle; but the results, from the combination of the two principles, were such as could not be reconciled with the places of Mars, observed by Tycho Brahe. In this dilemma, finding that he must give up one of the principles which he had adopted in his calculation, he first proposed to sacrifice his own theory to the authority of the old system, thus giving one of the most memorable examples which has ever occurred, of the influence of candour and prejudice at the same moment. He soon found, however, that this sacrifice would not answer his purpose, and that, in order to make the calculus agree with observations, it was the old hypothesis, and not the new one, that must be abandoned.

Thus, the idol was overthrown by which Kepler had been so long deceived, and the emancipation of astronomy was achieved: but many difficulties were yet to be overcome, before the empire of truth could be established.

It was proved that the orbit of Mars was not circular, but its real form was yet undiscovered. The hypothesis which first presented itself was, that this orbit is an oval or ellipses, coinciding with the supposed circular orbit at the two apsides, but falling very much within it in the middle between them; and Kepler having assigned the proportions of the longer and shorter axes of the curve, according to views that he thought sound, but which proved to

be extremely fallacious, proceeded to describe the ellipses, to obtain its quadrature, to cut its area in any given proportion, and to derive from thence the equations of the mean motion; all which was accompanied with such labour, as nothing but his fortitude and perseverance were able to overcome. He compared the distances of Mars, thus computed, for no less than forty different arches of anomaly, with the same as deduced from observation, and had the mortification to find that they did by no means agree, but that the real places of the planet fell as far without the new oval, as within the old circular orbit. After trying many different means of correcting these errors with incredible labour, and always subjecting each hypothesis to the severest test, he found, at length, that an ellipse, with the Sun in its focus, and its greater axis equal to the mean distance of Mars, represented the whole motion of the planet with wonderful exactness. *The planets, therefore, describe ellipses, having the Sun in their common focus;* and this is the second great discovery which delighted the mind, and has immortalized the name of Kepler.

His third discovery was that of a law of no less importance than either the description of equal areas, or the elliptic orbits of the planets; but it was made more easily than them, and without the same elaborate deductions. His strong propensity to trace out laws and discover analogies in nature, set him eagerly at work to find out what relation subsists between the distances of the planets from the Sun, and the times of their revolutions round him. The *data* here lay in a much smaller compass, and were much less various than in the two former researches; and Kepler, after making some fanciful comparisons between the distances of the planets and the regular solids in geometry, and also between the same and the divisions of the monochord, thought at last of comparing the different powers of these quantities with one another; from which comparison, though not without some abortive attempts, this truth at last emerged, *that the squares of the periodic times of the planets are as the cubes of their mean distances from the Sun.* He expresses, in strong terms, the delight and astonishment which he felt on the discovery of this simple and beautiful analogy. He has carefully marked the day on which the discovery was made. It was on the 8th of May 1618; and few, perhaps the philosopher will say, are the days in the history of the world that deserve so well to be remembered.

Such, then, were the great discoveries of Kepler, of which the work before us gives a clear and faithful representation; and becomes of course a valuable and secure guide through one of the most intricate and thorny paths that is to be met with in the whole history of science. The commentaries on Mars are indeed

so difficult to be understood (not from any fault in the composition, but from the nature of the subject), that very few of those who have professedly written on the history of astronomy, have given a just and accurate account of the principles which guided Kepler to the discoveries explained in that work. The idea of them given by La Lande is in many respects incorrect, and even the eloquent and philosophical Bailly has not followed the steps of Kepler with his usual fidelity. All must acknowledge, that it amounts to no ordinary praise to have been successful where writers such as these had failed, though those only who have attempted the perusal of Kepler's own work will fully perceive the merit of Dr. Small's elucidations. If any thing can be said to be wanting in them, it is the introduction of more of those anecdotes which serve to make known the character of the singular man whose discoveries are here unfolded. For this, the manner in which the commentaries on Mars are written, supplies ample materials. Kepler was not one of those stately authors, who never show themselves to their readers in the times of their difficulties and embarrassments, who are visible only when they are in full dress, and are careful to throw a veil over all their weaknesses and errors. He admits you into his closet; you see him at work; the ardour and anxiety of his mind, his hurry and distraction, as well as his sagacity and genius, are all laid open before you. Very few writers on light and gay subjects bring you better acquainted with themselves than this astronomer does, in the course of explaining some of the greatest and most difficult discoveries that were ever made; and it may be doubted whether, at the conclusion of their respective books, Kepler or Montaigne, are best known to their readers.

We do not mean, however, to insinuate, that Dr. Small has been wholly inattentive to the circumstances here alluded to; he has taken notice of many of the peculiarities in the character of the great man whose writings he has so successfully explained; and if he has not enlarged on them more, it is probably from too great a desire of being concise. He has indeed been sometimes too sparing of his words, and seems to have written under the apprehension of a censure which Kepler, very unjustly, we think, has at one time passed upon himself, of being *in re mathematica loquax*. We do not think that this is a criticism which the intelligent reader will make either on the text or the commentary.

Dr. Small's book, by making this work of Kepler more accessible, will do an essential service to general science, as that work affords an excellent example of inductive investigation in the case where such investigation is attended with the greatest difficulty.

It is a case where the mere collecting of facts, without connecting those facts by a hypothesis or theory, would be of no use whatever for the discovery of truth. Kepler, therefore, having brought together the facts, from the best sources, and after the most scrupulous examination as to their accuracy, assumes a hypothesis for connecting them together, a step which the nature of the subject renders indispensable. This theory or hypothesis is not taken up at random, but is assumed as probable, from physical considerations, or other circumstances of the problem. It is in this part, however, where Kepler is most defective, being often rash in the assumption of hypothesis, and having, from the state of knowledge in that age, but few principles of sound and genuine physics to assist him in his selection. He makes up for this, indeed, completely, in the step that follows, where he tries his hypothesis by the most rigorous and severe application of it to particular facts, and condemns it with the utmost impartiality if it is found wanting. It is here that Kepler is almost unrivalled; and his ingenuity in finding the means of comparing his hypothesis with experiment, and his candour in pronouncing sentence, will, in all ages, be subjects of admiration. The true use of hypothesis and theory, as means of arriving at truth as instruments of investigation, are therefore nowhere so well exemplified as in the discovery of the three laws that have been mentioned above. The ability and diligence with which Dr. Small has traced the path of Kepler, and unfolded the thread that guided him through a labyrinth so intricate and vast, entitle him consequently to the thanks not only of the astronomer, but of all who are concerned with the more difficult modes of inductive reasoning.

There are added to this volume a considerable number of notes, in which several of the problems, both astronomical and geometrical, connected with the investigations in the text, are clearly and elegantly resolved. These throw great light both on Kepler's researches and on the systems of the old astronomy.

ART. XVI. *Caractere des Armées Européennes dans la Guerre actuelle, avec une paralelle de la Politique de la puissance et des moyens des Romains et des Français.* Londres, T. Egerton, 1802.

Military Character of the different European Armies, &c. Translated from the French. Second Edition. Egerton, 1804.

OUR curiosity would have been much gratified, if, along with this translation, we had received some information about the

author of this very able and interesting publication. When we first perused it, we formed a very high idea of the author's talents; but, both from its size and composition, we were led to conceive that it was probably only a prelude to a more extensive and systematic work upon the same subject. We have been so long disappointed in that expectation, that we avail ourselves of this translation, to give our readers a view of a work which we should be sorry to have omitted altogether.

The French copy does not consist of more than 150 pages; and it contains characters of the armies of France, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Britain, Piedmont, and Russia. In a pamphlet of this kind, our readers will not look for minute or accurate details. They will however find many acute and profound remarks, evidently the result of much reflection upon the military and political state of Europe.

The author begins with observing, that political revolutions change the relative situation and character of nations. There are few nations that have not, at one period or other, been distinguished for superior military skill and attainments. Without going back to ancient history, we have in modern times a variety of instances of the rapid fluctuation of this kind of superiority. The Turkish armies, from being formidable to all Christendom a few centuries ago, are now totally unfit to contend with European forces. The Spanish infantry preserved, for nearly a century, a superiority over that of the other European powers. The Swiss, who were formerly courted and revered by all the nations around them, are no longer a nation. The Swedes, the Prussians, and the Russians, have had their successive periods of military glory. It is remarked that the manner in which war is conducted, is not less subject to change.

'The war of 1733 was differently managed from that of the Succession, and the Seven-years war differently again from that of 1740. Recent discoveries, different generals, and a change of the theatre and the object of the war, are not the sole causes of this diversity. In war, there are systems which succeed each other; and it is subject to the fashion of the day. A particular army or organization of troops, or an order of battle, is more in vogue at one time than another, although the officers may in part be the same. This difference has never been so remarkable as in the late and present contest. Its conduct has been as varied as its origin. We have taken upon ourselves to paint the existing military character of the different armies that have been engaged in it. We suppress particulars, and leave the comparison of them to military persons, who *may be more enlightened, and better informed than we are.* We have endeavoured not to suffer ourselves to be prejudiced by party spirit, or dazzled by the brilliant appearance of success. In relating circumstances as they appear to us, we leave every

one to draw from them whatever conclusion he may think the most probable. Truth is our object: this object we think we have attained We presume too that those, who are acquainted with the armies of which we are speaking, will meet with their own sentiments on this head, although they may not perhaps have clearly defined them. If officers, who are well instructed in each service, discover that what we relate is so true, as to be common, we shall fancy that we have gained the object which we had in view. We do not pretend to instruct, nor to give an account of events; but solely to distinguish and make known the causes of those effects with which all Europe is acquainted.' p. vii. viii.

The discriminating feature of the French army (which is that to which our author first directs his attention) appears to have been individual intelligence and activity; and it is a striking proof of the genius and talents of their generals, that they always either adopted or invented a system of military movements, suited to the discipline and composition of their troops.

The Revolution deprived the French army of many of their best officers. Their places were supplied by men hastily chosen for that purpose, and in many instances incapable of commanding. Dumouriez's army was composed of raw and undisciplined troops, who had no confidence in their officers, and were sometimes seized with a panic, even when there was no enemy opposed to them. Our author goes so far as to say, that had France been a country of limited extent and population, she might have experienced the fate of Holland, the Netherlands, and Poland. 'Notwithstanding the discordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when every thing was possible; but they suffered that moment to to be lost.' There are certainly some facts related by Dumourier himself, which tend to support this observation; and it is not easy to determine what momentary success the combined armies might have had, if they had acted upon a more vigorous and enterprizing system. It is almost impossible, however, in forming an estimate of the probable issue of their designs, to lay out of view the difficulties arising from the local circumstances of the country, its almost impregnable frontier, and the population and extent of the interior. A most desperate and enterprizing invader alone could have looked for success. A regular, cautious, calculating general had difficulties to encounter, which he could not overcome with the system upon which he acted. The retreat of the allied army gave the French confidence and courage; and the system of terror recruited their armies, and made them act with energy, even after a long series of defeats. Their generals were placed in a situation in which the loss of men was no object The immense numbers which fell were replaced by successive levies; but the army was not in a state to execute manœuvres, or to make

any movement at all complicated. A new system of warfare was therefore adopted, and pursued with success.

'There were,' says our author, 'in each of the fourteen republican armies, a few ancient officers, particularly engineers, and of the artillery, possessed of military acquirements; necessity, reflection, and the natural genius of Frenchmen taught them to devise a new species of warfare. Turenne, Condé, and their *élèves* had carried on a war of movements; next came that of sieges. Frederick the Great had introduced a system of tactics and manœuvres, which he had brought to perfection. The French, fully aware that they could not give battles in regular order, sought to reduce the war to important affairs of posts. By a strange fatality, which attended the allied army, this system of desultory warfare seemed to be encouraged by the very foes they had to encounter. Instead of lines, that could not be preserved without difficulty, the French formed close columns. They reduced their battles to attacks on certain points, and sometimes on one only. By brigades constantly succeeding each other, and fresh troops supplying the place of those who had been driven back, they in the end succeeded in forcing the point attacked; and the Austrians made a *masterly* retreat.' p. 4, 5.

The French (it is said) were not less indebted for their success to the talents of their own generals, than to the stubborn indocility of their enemies. The Austrians, instead of availing themselves of the superior discipline of their troops, uniformly adhered to their system of forming immoveable lines; and the French, by keeping themselves in a mass, were secure against the attacks of their cavalry.

When the seat of war was transferred to mountainous or difficult countries, close columns could no longer be made use of: the French at once perceived this, and, abandoning the system of close columns, formed immense bodies of *eclaireurs*, sharp-shooters, light infantry, and chasseurs. The French soldiers are peculiarly well adapted for this species of warfare; and by availing themselves of the most trifling advantages of ground, they frequently forced large bodies of Austrians to retreat.

In the course of a few campaigns, the French armies, although they did not acquire a regular system of tactics, became able to move with great rapidity. It is observed, that as they did not pay much regard to regularity and precision, their movements were executed with greater velocity. 'In the midst of a movement that appears confused, individual intelligence enables every man to find his place; the manœuvre, instead of being performed in a body, is executed individually, and, for that very reason, with greater rapidity.'

Moreau is described as the French general who adhered most

closely to the old system of warfare. His military character is said to differ from that of the other French generals: he was chiefly distinguished by his superior talents and science, while the others owed their reputation to the bold and daring manner in which they formed and executed their plans.

The effects of the revolution were not less conspicuous in the subordinate arrangements of the army. Their wants were supplied by requisition. When they entered a country, they had little or no baggage. Their losses from fatigue, disease and famine, were never regarded by their generals; and as most of their officers had been raised from the ranks, they received some consolation for the hardships and privations they endured, by reflecting upon their former situation.

Less is, however, said of the system which the French adopted of supporting their armies by levying contributions in the countries they came to, than we expected to have met with in a work which displays so much discernment. By abandoning the old system of forming depots and magazines they certainly exposed their troops to famine, want and disorder, and in many instances suffered from the fury of the inhabitants, who were exasperated by their excesses. With all these inconveniencies, however, they appear to have reaped very important advantages from this mode of supplying their armies. Formerly, the movements of armies were anticipated from the magazines they had formed, and the position of their depots; and their route was retarded by the attention which it was necessary to pay to them. The inroads of the French armies were unexpected, and their progress was rapid. They calculated only upon success; and they obtained it, by the unlooked for celerity of their movements, and the boldness and enterprise of their plans.

The idea of supporting an army in that manner was fully developed by Guibert; and the revolution, which has been a school of bold and daring experiments, has shewn the correctness of his reasoning upon that and many other military innovations.

The disorders of the French army are well described in the following passage.

'When,' says our author, 'we see these volunteers of *liberty* dragged to the armies with an iron collar fastened to their necks; when we consider that they are in great part composed of royalists or enemies to government; when we reflect on the disorder, the waste, the want of discipline, the misery, the maladies, and the state of the hospitals, which consume six times the number of men that perish in battle; when we see the soldiers incessantly on the point of mutiny, and sometimes freely indulging themselves in it; their officers, some of whom cannot even read; their generals, many of whom are grossly ignorant;

while several who have risen to the rank of commanders in chief, were originally dealers in thread and needles (Jourdan), monks, (Pichegru), physicians (Doppet), barristers (Moreau), common soldiers (Massena), dancers (Muller, Victor), carmen (Brune), quack doctors (Massot), painters (Cartaux), fencing masters (Augereau), cooks (Championet), &c. &c.—when we see soldiers of uncouth appearance, without the smallest shew of subordination, and in rags, we cannot but ask ourselves the question, how it has been possible, that such an assemblage could have achieved military exploits of so distinguished a stamp? We have already in part accounted for this phenomenon; we shall proceed to give a final developement of the causes.' p. 12, 13.

In the explanation which is given of these facts, it is observed that the want of discipline among the French soldiers is more apparent than real. Although a French soldier is not chastised for ordinary offences, but is allowed to sell his effects, to be dirty, and to commit disorders, yet whatever is considered as an essential breach of military discipline is punished with the utmost severity. A distinction is thus made between what is personal to the soldier, and what relates to the service. His conduct upon service is as exemplary as in any other army; and he makes it a point of honour to be vigilant and strictly observant of countersigns.

In their battles the French are said to have derived great advantages from keeping a body of reserve, composed of the best troops, and commanded by an able general. By concentrating their forces upon the point of attack instead of forming extensive lines, they were enabled to spare troops for that purpose. They generally commenced the action with light troops. In that situation the courage of every individual is displayed; and the emulation which is excited leads men to the most daring actions. One great excellence which French soldiers possess, is that of penetrating into the state of the forces opposed to them, and of making an attack with rapidity and precision the moment they seem disposed to give way. Their sharp-shooters have frequently succeeded in deciding important actions; and if they are repulsed, they are protected by the *corps de reserve* which supports them, or attacks in its turn. The battle of Marengo is a striking instance of the advantages which the French have derived from their *corps de reserve*; and on more than one occasion it has been the means of recovering a battle which was considered as lost. The French are said to have been much indebted for their victories to the use of horse artillery, which was composed of picked men, and exposed upon every occasion. Their other artillery, during the course of last war, is described as greatly inferior to what it had formerly been: it was however disposed in such a manner as not to retard the movements of the infantry; and no field-

pieces were attached to their battalions. One assertion which will perhaps surprise our readers, is, that secrecy, which has been considered of so much importance in military operations, was considered as no object in the French army. When the general had a movement in view, the whole army knew of it; while at the same time a thousand other plans were talked of and discussed. A spirit of enterprise was thus kept up in the whole army, and their camps became schools of military instruction. In other armies, the officers and soldiers who have made a campaign, are in general more ignorant of the movements which their army has made, than their countrymen at home. It is considered as an essential object to conceal from them, as much as possible, not merely the movements which are to be made, but even those which have taken place. Our author remarks that history furnishes us with many instances of great successes arising from the discoveries and observations of common soldiers:—and indeed, where the minds of so many men are employed upon one object, valuable suggestions must frequently be produced by their united efforts. In few armies is any care taken to discover or collect their observations. The French army afforded every facility for that purpose. The commander had opportunities of availing himself of the information of the whole army. The generals of division, during the engagement, received the same assistance from the intelligence of the individuals who composed their columns. Their observations passed from rank to rank; and while those which were just were circulated, there was discernment enough to arrest the progress of those which were unfounded. 'It was thus that, amidst the disorder and confusion which seemed to render the French armies ungovernable, and incapable of executing a plan, astonishing results were produced, because every one contributed to forward the common object, from his voluntary as well as personal exertions.' Every officer and every soldier fought as if the orders they were executing had been their own. These circumstances must have given a peculiar character to all the operations of the French army. Accordingly it is observed that

'When a company arrives at a post, or on the ground which it is to occupy, the soldiers, from curiosity, example, the desire of appearing intelligent, and from that vanity which is inseparable from the French character, instead of lying lazily on the earth, examine the post in every point of view; they proceed to reconnoitre, and form their several plans of attack or defence. If they are attacked, they have the incalculable advantage of being acquainted with the ground, and of knowing beforehand all that can be done. It frequently happens, that the soldiers, without

officers, conduct themselves not only with bravery, but with infinite ability.' p. 22, 23.

The truth of these observations appears to us to be confirmed by many well authenticated facts. The rapid advancement of generals from the ranks, is not surprising in such an army; and one campaign, in such circumstances, would form more officers than twenty in an army where promotion depended upon purchase or court favour, and where every disposition to discuss the movements of the army was regarded as a crime. An officer who afterwards rose to a very high command in the French service, is said to have sent to Paris a plan for an approaching campaign when he was only a sergeant. It was remarked by officers who had occasion to converse with the prisoners taken by the Austrian army, that they seldom met with a French soldier who had not made some calculation of the force of the army he belonged to, and of the division he served with. An Austrian or a British soldier seldom knows any thing beyond the sphere of the company in which he is posted; and among officers of the old school this is considered as the perfection of military discipline.

The armies opposed to them do not seem to have derived any advantage from the want of secresy which prevailed in the French operations. It was afterwards observed, indeed, that they had announced what they had done. True: but, amidst the infinite number of projects which were published, how was it possible to discern the real one? and, in many instances, a resolution is formed at the moment, in favour of one plan instead of another, as circumstances seem to favour it. An idea, at one time very prevalent in this country, that the plans of the campaign were formed at Paris, and that Carnot directed the most trifling movements of the armies, is ably refuted. Our author's observation, that there are no instances of disputes about the execution of orders in the French service, is decisive on this subject. Complaints of that sort must have occurred, if the commanders in chief and those under them had acted upon minute and detailed plans. The fact is that the latitude of the orders was such, that though the generals might go wrong from ignorance or design, they could hardly be guilty of formal disobedience. The French made their officers responsible for the event, not for the means which they employed. The instructions given to Dugommier, who commanded at the siege of Toulon, by the Committee of Public Safety, were, '*Vous prendrez Toulon, ou vous meriterez nos regrets.*' These are very clear instructions, but, at the same time, very general. We agree with our author, that it is much wiser to leave to the general the free choice of the measures which he

is to adopt, than to tie him strictly down to the most perfect plan of a campaign that ever was formed in a cabinet. If any thing is prescribed beyond the general object in view, it is the 'result of jealousy, of vanity, or of a fatal desire of commanding.' This system of plans and of detailed orders, which the French were too wise to encumber themselves with, appears to have pervaded the whole Austrian service. The generals were there fettered by the instructions they received, and looked to the Council of War with greater apprehension than to the enemy. They were always impressed with their responsibility for the event, and continually calculating the loss they might sustain, not only in men, but in military effects and artillery. A general who was defeated when attacked, was acquitted; but if he was defeated in an offensive operation, he was undone for ever; 'as if,' says our author, 'an army became secure against an attack by not making one itself.' Their artillery, which was excellent, was made an incumbrance, instead of an assistance. It was a point of honour to preserve it at every risk; and the Austrian infantry would on some occasions have avoided defeats, if it had either had no artillery, or had consented to lose it.

The merits of the Austrian army, however, are by no means underrated. Although its defects, and the degraded state of their soldiers, who are reduced to the condition of automatons, are acknowledged, it is said to be as much superior to the French army considered as a body, as a French soldier, considered as an individual, is to an Austrian. The two great causes of the defeats of the Austrians were, the want of genius and enterprise in their generals, and their deficiency in light troops. Instead of adopting an original mode of fighting, calculated to display the superiority of their troops in discipline, they kept themselves in cordons and lines, in which their cavalry could be of no use. The French, who were thus enabled to calculate upon their movements, exposed themselves in a manner which they would not have ventured to have done, if they had been opposed by an enterprising enemy. Even when acting upon the defensive, the Austrians ought to have made campaigns of movements, not of positions. This is illustrated by the example of Turenne, Prince Eugene, and Frederick of Prussia, who, during their defensive campaigns, kept up all the activity and appearance of offensive operations. The want of light troops is considered as the chief cause of the defeat of the Austrians. Even when commanded by the Archduke Charles, upon whom every eulogium is bestowed, they suffered severely from this circumstance. By converting their light troops, which were so famous in the wars of 1740 and 1757, into a sort of regular battalions, they lost the qualities which fitted them for that spe-

cies of warfare. The Austrians might have supplied this defect in Piedmont, in Switzerland, and in Italy, by employing the inhabitants of these countries as light troops; but although their adherents were more numerous than those of the French, they made less use of them. Their losses, from want of light troops, were enormous when the war was carried on in mountainous countries. They acted upon the principle, that a sufficient number of men will always defend their ground; whereas, among mountains, the advantages of ground are of more importance than numbers.—From the desire of adhering to a system of regularity which could not be preserved, instead of occupying the heights and placing their troops according to the nature of the ground, they remained collected at the bottom: They were in consequence outflanked, and surrounded. Our author enlarges, in many passages, upon the advantages which the French derived from their light troops. The following passage gives so good an account of the opposite systems of the French and Austrians, that we make no apology for laying it before our readers.

'The French soldiers, who are more active, more enterprising, and ready in availing themselves of every advantage of ground, will hang round bodies of men that are much more numerous than themselves; they molest, harass, and advance upon them, by means of the smallest shelter. The Austrians, in the mean time, preserve their rank and file; but their oblique firing has not the least effect upon men who are either scattered about, or advantageously posted; while every discharge of the latter, being levelled at a considerable body, cannot fail of telling.—When the Austrians advance, the riflemen withdraw, but return to the charge as soon as the Austrians retire again: the Austrian troop is thus harassed by an enemy that keeps out of its reach, and whose numbers, upon looking at the extent of ground which they occupy, appear more considerable than they really are. This method of fighting continues, until the losses they have experienced, and the inutility of resistance, produce discouragement and confusion; and, at length, the troops, overwhelmed with fatigue, and thrown into disorder, either disperse, or lay down their arms. The French, who would not have dared to meet these same Austrians in open field, have often defeated and taken thousands of them with some hundreds of men only: for, the instant their ranks are broken, the Austrians become like a flock of sheep dispersed, and incapable of reuniting. The coolness of the Austrians is inexplicable. The humiliation of surrendering their arms does not seem to affect them any more than the dangers of a battle. One would suppose, in considering their indifference, that it was nothing but the *finale* of a pantomime or ballet. The Austrians carry their fear of being outflanked or turned, to a degree which is at once ridiculous and extravagant; it might indeed be called a national disorder or weakness. They fancy themselves outflanked, or enveloped at the very moment in which they might surround those, who have had the rashness to outrun them.

This excessive apprehension disconcerts their plans, and drives them to retrogade movements at a time when, in order to beat the enemy, they have only to advance upon him.' p. 39, 40.

The view given of the English army will be more interesting to our readers than that of any of the continental forces. It contains, in the first place, an investigation of the causes of the bad success of the British arms upon the Continent. One position is repeatedly maintained, that 'the English are undoubtedly the most intrepid people in Europe.'* Other causes are therefore to be assigned for a fact which is assumed as certain. The first is, that the land army has become an object of secondary consideration ever since the union with Scotland. Another cause is the want of any regular system for the formation of the army, and the manner in which the forces are parcelled out in service, from which circumstance they can never acquire uniformity or consistency. Campaigns in Asia do not contribute to form troops fitted for European warfare; and a general who has returned from India, is compared to an admiral who has acquired his knowledge of navigation from voyages in the lake of Geneva or the Black sea. The English cavalry is allowed to be better equipped and more formidable in a charge than that of any other nation. A private in the British cavalry is said to be as well mounted as an officer in any other service. He does not however possess the same command of his horse, which is attributed to the form of his saddle; and from this circumstance the British cavalry are said to require more time than any other to form after a charge. The highest praises are bestowed upon the artillery. In short, able commanders, we are told, are alone wanting to make the British the best troops in Europe. This opinion is not peculiar to our author; for it is certainly very prevalent upon the Continent. The British officers are not considered as inferior to those of any army in Europe in courage, in talents, or in attachment to their profession, but in military science and attainments. It certainly would be extremely unjust to impute to them the slightest blame upon that account. From the causes already enumerated they have not the same opportunities of acquiring a practical knowledge of their profession which the officers of continental armies possess; and though that disadvantage might have been easily supplied by directing some portion of the talents and genius of the nation to the cultivation of military science, this is perhaps the only country in Europe where it has been completely neglected.

* 'Les Anglois sont indubitablement le peuple le plus intrépide de l'Europe, celui qui affronte la mort et la voit approcher avec le plus de sang froid et d'indifference.'

In France, military knowledge was widely diffused; and in the course of the war, it enabled them to overcome every disadvantage arising from want of discipline and experience. Their writers upon military subjects are as superior to those of other countries, as their generals have shewn themselves to be. If the same encouragement had been given in England to military studies, we can have no doubt that our countrymen would have excelled as much in this as they have done in every other department of science. We are not aware, that we are indulging our national partialities too far, when we say, that there is not one liberal art to which the genius of both nations has been applied, in which this country has not fair pretensions to superior excellence. Even mechanical inventions, although not apparently suited to the genius of the inhabitants, have been carried to higher perfection in Britain than in any other country. But on military subjects, not one author of any originality, or of any merit, has appeared. The cause of this is obvious. A person intended for the army has no opportunity of learning even the rudiments of his art in this country; if he is desirous to acquire them, he must relinquish the superior advantages of a British education, in order to place himself under the tuition of a German tactician. He there acquires a system which is suited to the genius of a country inferior in almost every respect to this. Any little military knowledge which has been brought into this country, has been servilely copied from the Germans. We are by no means disposed to underrate German discipline; it certainly has its merits: but there always must be a marked distinction between a system which is in a manner the growth of the country, and accommodated to the genius and situation of the people, and one which is transferred as an article of faith in all its parts, from a foreign country, to one different in almost every respect. If Frederick, instead of King of Prussia, had been King of Great Britain, we may venture to say that his military arrangements would have been different. He would have considered the situation of the country, the character of the people, and the services in which the troops were likely to be engaged. In his own country, it is believed, he made fewer changes in military matters than what is generally imagined: matters of little importance he allowed to remain upon the same footing. He did not consider it of very great importance to alter the shape of a coat or the form of a skirt; but wherever he found the tactics of other nations superior, he either imitated or improved upon them. By doing so, he established his own character for superior genius, and at the same time made his army superior to that of any other power in Europe. The same superiority will be attained by any

nation which will employ the same means—which will improve its military system, not by a constant and vexatious succession of trifling changes, but by preserving unchanged whatever it has that is good, and giving encouragement to every improvement in the higher departments of military service.

Our author, throughout the whole of this work, appears to entertain very little reverence for what are called parade officers.—He observes, that it is easy for a person to fancy himself a soldier, by scrupulously attending, during peace, to those *minutiæ* which are really insignificant in war; and that it has been generally observed, that officers who make the most distinguished figure in time of peace, do not, in actual service, answer the expectations which they have raised. 'An officer of this class, who has served twenty or thirty years, has great difficulty in changing his pacific habits: he hates war: and where there is a want of taste for an undertaking, it must be badly executed.' Nothing can appear more astonishing to those who have not reflected upon it, than the extreme zeal which many officers of that description show for the subordinate *minutiæ* of parade. It is however the case with this, as with most other frivolous pursuits, that where they occupy the mind, they engross it more exclusively than those objects which require a higher exertion of the understanding. A collector of butterflies or tulips shows more zeal in his favourite studies, than a mathematician; and a mounte-bank quack-doctor annexes higher importance to his infallible prescriptions than a regular physician. Officers who have been long accustomed to actual service, are fully aware of the relative importance of the subordinate parts of discipline; but it is not easy to describe the absurd importance which parade officers, who have never heard a gun fired upon service, ascribe to the smallest *minutiæ* of dress. It appears to them of greater consequence to have their troops smart upon parade, than active in their manœuvres; and they seem to think that nothing renders a soldier so fit to meet an enemy, as fixing his cap upon one corner of his head, and exposing as much of it as they possibly can, bedaubed with soap and flour, to the wet and cold of a northern climate. No doubt, those officers must be very unfit to meet an enemy, who will not stay to examine whether the accoutrements of their men are well lackered, or their *queues* tied with singular regularity and precision. The height to which this attention to dress is raised in some individuals, exceeds all bounds of belief. We have heard an anecdote of a general officer (in what service we forbear to mention) who went with some of his friends to see the Consular troops reviewed at Paris. After inspecting the lines very narrowly, he was observed to return to his countrymen with a

look of great satisfaction and importance. One of them who was anxious to know the result of his observations, was at length informed, 'that he could assure him, as a military man, that after looking at the whole line, he had not been able to find two neckcloths together, tied in the same manner.'* This

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*A certain degree of attention to the clothing and equipment of troops is necessary; and even an excess of it may appear a very harmless foible. It would certainly be so, if it did not convert, what ought to be a secondary object, into a principal one. When it is proposed to form the soldier for the different kinds of service which may be required, and to accustom him to such exercises as will inure him to fatigue, it is said that he is already sufficiently employed. This objection has long ago been answered by Guibert. 'Si l'on me dit,' says that enlightened author, 'que nos exercises actuels les occupent déjà assez, je répondrai que c'est parce que nos manœuvres sont trop compliquées, nos méthodes d'instruction mal entendues, notre prétention de précision et de perfection sur beaucoup de points, minutieuse et ridicule. Je répondrai que la preuve que nos soldats ne sont pas assez occupés, c'est que pour remplir, dit-on, leur temps, on les surcharge de régles de discipline inquiétantes et odieuses. C'est qu'on a créé une tenue qui leur fait passer trois heures par jour à leur toilette, qui en fait des perruquiers, des polisseurs, des vernisseurs, tout en un mot, hormis des gens de guerre.'—*Essai General de Tactique, p.* 161.

The same excellent author, whom we cannot too often refer to, has demonstrated that the progress of the arts and sciences ought to promote instead of retarding the art of war:—'Ce ne sont pas les arts et les sciences qui ont fait décheoir l'art militaire chez les peuples de l'antiquité; ce ne sont pas les arts et les sciences qui l'empêchent aujourd'hui de faire des progrès. Les lumières générales devroient au contraire perfectionner cet art avec tous les autres. Elles devroient rendre la tactique plus simple et plus savante, les troupes plus instruites, les généraux meilleurs. Elles devroient mettre la méthode à la place de la routine, les combinaisons à la place du hasard. Si, tandis que toutes les autres sciences se perfectionnent, celle de la guerre reste dans l'enfance, c'est la faute des gouvernemens qui n'y attachent pas assez d'importance; qui n'en font pas un objet d'éducation publique; qui ne dirigent pas vers cette profession les hommes de génie; qui leur laissent entrevoir plus de gloire et d'avantages dans des sciences frivoles ou moins utiles; qui rendent la carrière des armes une carrière ingrate dans laquelle les talens sont devancés par l'intrigue, et les prix distribuées par la fortune.' *Ibid. Discours Preliminaire, tom. I. p.* 97, 98.

Some attempts have certainly been made, of late years, to supply the defects of the military education in this country. Important advantages may be expected from the institutions which have been formed. It is however to be regretted that they are by no means adequate to the

was a very moderate instance of the disposition above alluded to: many more striking ones are well known.

The question of invasion appears still to stand on the same grounds that it did before this work was first published. Our author does not pretend to be a judge of the practicability of such a scheme. He observes, that both countries stand in a very different situation from what they ever did formerly. Although the naval power of Great Britain is greater than it ever was before, it must be recollected that the territory of the French is vastly more extensive. When we reflect, says our author, upon these circumstances, and the daring rashness of the French, what is perhaps impossible in itself does not appear improbable. 'If the French were to succeed in effecting a landing, he observes, they would find themselves without any hope of being able to reimbark, which would deprive them of courage if their army was composed of bad troops; but danger and difficulty excite and inflame the valour of soldiers accustomed to war, who have a great object in view, and who are acquainted with the means that must be resorted to in order to obtain it.' Every Englishman would individually possess as much courage; but the want of experience prevents the reunion of efforts, and destroys that confidence which is necessary in the cooperation of great numbers. The army opposed to them, our author says, would consist of regular troops, of militia regiments, and of volunteer yeomanry.

'These troops' says our author, 'are destitute of all experience and practice of war: their exercise is but a feeble imitation of it: and a camp in time of peace, (which is nothing more than a parade, where the only contest exists in pleasure and magnificence) is but an unprofitable school of tactics. The presumption of knowing something, would be dangerous: and nothing would be more fatal than a general battle. Numbers only serve to augment the confusion of unexperienced troops, who have to withstand enemies, that are at once active and enterprising, remarkable for their quickness in throwing their opponents into disorder, and for the audacity of their movements.' p. 109, 110.

Upon this reasoning it is maintained, that the most ruinous measure would be to oppose the French with a large army. We are told, that although it may be considered as a paradox, it is demonstrated by numberless examples, that it would be more dangerous, in these circumstances, to combat 10,000 Frenchmen with

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occasion, and that much care has been taken to introduce all the brutal rigour and harshness of German military discipline, which appears better adapted to drill-corporals and sergeants, than to form officers or gentlemen. No attempt has been made to make military attainments a branch of liberal education.

100,000 men, than with twenty or five and twenty thousand. Such a body can only acquire the faculty of moving in order, from long exercise and habitual warfare. If composed of inexperienced troops, it would suffer more from the difficulty of acting, than the valour of the enemy. It is recommended as the wisest plan, in such a case, to divide these 100,000 men into five or six bodies, according to the strength of the enemy, and the nature of the ground; and, by attacking the French without intermission, to imitate the conduct by which they, in the beginning of the war, eluded the Austrian tactics. By reducing the warfare to partial engagements, the enemy could not have the same superiority which the rapidity of their manœuvres would give them in a general action.

'Every Englishman,' says our author, 'who will reflect on the greatness of the political, civil and domestic blessings which he enjoys, and who will suffer himself to be convinced, that he runs the risk of being deprived of them for ever, if the French should be long stationary in England, will not hesitate to expose his life for the preservation of those inestimable blessings (which are greater than any other nation ever enjoyed), or to perish, rather than see the downfal and disgrace of his country, and of himself. The English would have it in their power to destroy the French, by the means of at least an equal degree of bravery, and great superiority of numbers; but this can only be effected by acting in separate bodies, and by meeting the enemy at all points, without giving him time to form any settled and combined plan of general action.' p. 113, 114.

For an account of the Russian, Spanish, Neapolitan, and Prussian armies, we must refer our readers to the work itself, which contains some valuable, and to us original observations upon each of these topics. The character of Suvarow forms a prominent feature in the view given of the Russian army; his singular peculiarities are brought before the reader in a very interesting manner; and upon his talents as a general every praise is bestowed. We are told that he excelled all other generals in the management of his troops: he had the art of making his soldiers believe that he was an inspired man. In his tactics, his principal object was to engage his enemy, as he was persuaded that the valour of his troops would always render him victorious.

'He was a captain,' says our author, 'in the style of Mahomet, Tamerlane, and Gengis Khan, rather than of Cæsar or Turenne; an Asiatic general, rather than an European; formed to gain battles and make conquests, rather than conduct regular and skilful campaigns; if indeed there can be any skill superior to that of always beating an enemy.'

In the parallel between the Romans and French, with which this work terminates, the powers and means of the latter nation

and the vast preponderance which it has acqired in the European system, are stated in a manner which must excite very great apprehensions in every British reader. The events which have occurred since this work was first published, have not contributed to diminish the force of any of the observations which are made in it. Without pretending to know what Bonaparte's views were, our author then observed, that if ambition was his sole and predominant passion, (which it appeared to be) he would not be contented with the possession of the finest kingdom in Europe, because ambition never stops at the object it has attained. The circumstances of modern Europe, however, are so different from those of the States of antiquity, that such a parallel is perhaps better calculated to display ingenuity, than to be a basis for political reasoning.

We have seldom met with a book which, although apparently composed very hastily, and by a person probably not much accustomed to write, contains so many original observations in so small a compass, and so much military and political information. No references are made to the authorities he has proceeded upon though we may observe that, in his general reasonings upon military subjects, he seems often to have had an author in view whom we have quoted in the course of this article. We do not profess to be skilled in the *minutiæ* of French composition, otherwise we should be disposed to hazard the criticism, that the language is not that of a native of France. We cannot however, pass over the translation without expressing our most decided disapprobation of it; and we therefore decline mentioning the name of the gentleman by whom it is said to have been executed. It betrays many marks of the grossest ignorance, and the most inexcusable carelessness. Where it is said that England has, since the Union, '*porté ses vues et ses efforts vers la mer*,' this is translated 'has carried her views and exertion *beyond the sea*.' instead of 'towards naval affairs' (p. 66, original, p. 80, translation.) After enumerating one class of consequences to be apprehended from invasion, another is announced with the observation, '*ces dangers ne sont pas les seuls*' (p. 80.) This is most sagaciously translated 'danger is not the only thing to be considered' (p. 108, trans.) '*Dans ce cas ils ne seroient pas perdus*,' (p. 84.) is translated 'in case of their not being destroyed,' (p. 109.) In some passages a sort of paraphrase is given of the original, which would be less objectionable if it had been tolerably executed. '*L'esprit naturel aux François*,' is dilated into 'an inventive faculty, aided by that promptitude of action which is so natural to Frenchmen' (p. 4, trans.) To make amends for these additions, however, part of the original is sometimes omitted,

For what reason we know not, the fourth sentence in the introduction does not appear at all in the translation. The notes tagged to this wretched translation are every way worthy of it, and unworthy of the original. They consist of a few childish remarks; various dolorous lamentations upon the inadequate pay of British officers; some quotations from pamphlets that have nothing to do with the subject discussed in the original; and many obliging references to James's Military Dictionary.

ART. XVII. *Military Memoirs, relating to Campaigns, Battles, and Stratagems of War, antient and modern: Extracted from the best Authorities, with occasional Remarks.* By the Author of Memoirs of the War in Asia, from 1778 to 1784, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 588. London, J. Johnson, &c. 1804.

THOUGH war has ever been the favourite amusement, and often the sole employment of men, history does not afford such an abundance of materials as might be expected for a work of the kind that is here announced. Every page, indeed, is full of military transactions, and of accounts of battles, where our sympathy with the combatants, and the mingled emotions of pity, horror and admiration, afford an interesting and useful occupation to the mind. But if we look for accurate information concerning the means by which such enterprises have been achieved; if we would learn the position of the hostile armies, the nature of the ground which they occupied, their disposition in the day of battle, and the movements which decided the contest, we shall often meet with disappointment in the midst of the most splendid descriptions; we shall have cause to lament that loose declamation has been so often substituted for exact narrative, and that there are so many more writers who are ambitious of painting with the glow of Titus Livius and Quintus Curtius, than of delineating with the correctness of Arrian or Polybius.

It was only from historians of the latter kind that the author of the work before us could derive any advantage; for, his purpose being to treat of military operations in an exact and distinct manner, no actions but such as had been accurately described by the original authors, could properly find a place in his collection. The choice he has made seems to be skilful and judicious; the information is derived from the best sources; and the general observations introduced in the course of the work indicate a more exact and extensive knowledge of the military art than is usually to be found among men of civil professions, and of studious and se-

dentary lives. An accurate knowledge of the learned languages, and a familiarity with the best writers of antiquity, were indispensable requisites in an undertaking of this kind, and are possessed, we believe, by the author, Dr. Thomson, in no ordinary degree. The ancient authors to whom he is principally indebted, are Xenophon, Arrian and Cæsar, who, being themselves soldiers, as well as scholars and fine writers, have composed works which, in every state of the military art, will be read with interest and instruction. Polybius, it is needless to remark, is one of the chief sources of information, and Dr. Thompson has observed how necessary it is to consult the original of that author; the best translation which we possess, though not without merit in many respects, having given the military details in a manner extremely loose and unsatisfactory. Among the moderns, Dr. Thomson professes to have been chiefly indebted to Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World; to the *Cours de Tactique* of Maizeroy; *Essai sur les Battailes* of the Chev. Grimoard; Mauvillon *sur l'Influence de la Poudre à Canon;* Memoirs of Guischardt, &c.; to which we may add, as he tells us, the conversation of military gentlemen, who have joined the study of the theory, to an acquaintance with the real scenes of war.

Of these sources of information, Dr. Thomson has availed himself with great success, and has produced a volume, containing, in a small compass, a great deal of distinct and interesting military detail. It is divided into three parts. The *first* treats of war before the invention of gunpowder; the *second* of war from the invention of gunpowder to the introduction of the Prussian tactics; the *third* from the introduction of the Prussian tactics to the present time.

The following remarks on the progress of the art of war are given partly from Mauvillon.

'Without inquiring whether arms to be used in the hand, or those to be thrown to a distance, were the most ancient, it must be allowed that nature has taught the use of these last to many of the brute animals. The bear and the monkey discharge stones at the enemy they are unable to reach; at the same time that they are ignorant of the use of the most simple weapon to be used in aid of their legs or claws.

'In the same manner, it is not improbable that men were naturally at first led to throw stones, &c. in their quarrels, before they thought of employing any artificial means of strengthening the force and activity of their limbs.

'When men had arrived at that point of civilization, to know how to make arms for the hand, of the hardest metals, those of projection, whether from the hand, a bow, or a sling, were no longer to be compared to these, for decisive efficacy.

'The effects of these last were too feeble: they might be guarded against, either by some defensive covering, or by running in and closing

with the enemy; so that they were too uncertain to be considered as equal to arms in the hand. It is true that, in the course of time, machines were contrived for discharging heavy bodies, which produced powerful effects at considerable distances; such as the *balista* the *catapulta*, and others; but these machines were too complicated, and demanded too much time in practice, ever to have been very formidable. Besides, the extent of their range was too small for the engineer to be able to repeat his discharge against troops in motion. The strength of troops, therefore, consisted in their arms for manual use; and each nation invented such for themselves, according to their ideas and customs

'The Greeks chose for their principal weapon the spear or pike. With this long pole, mounted with a sharp point of steel, and which, according to their order of fighting, could not easily be turned aside, they penetrated and laid open whatever opposed them.

'No enemy, armed only with a sword, or other short weapon, was able, as long as the Greeks retained their order, to touch them: but, if the enemy employed a pike, as they did themselves, then the issue of the contest depended on the courage, the strength, and the address of each party.

'The Romans, on the contrary, were specially attached to the use of the sword. The celebrated Montecuculi calls the pike the queen of arms for infantry, as the lance is for cavalry; but that observation must have been the effect of habit and prejudice, even in so great an officer.

'For the man of true courage will always prefer some hand-weapon even to the firelock; because, his ardent wish is to close with his enemy as quickly as possible. A commander ought also to prefer hand-weapons, because, in obliging his troops to engage man to man, they are in the fairest way to obtain the speediest victory.

'It is therefore the sword alone that deserves to be called the queen of arms. Not those long rapiers used by certain corps of cavalry; but a short sword, fit for cutting and stabbing, and which is easily manageable in the hand.

'This is the weapon with which an active man, covered with a buckler to parry the attacks of the enemy, and preserving, in the midst of danger, that *sang froid* which enables him to avoid or turn aside the enemy's strokes, is almost certain of victory, even over an enemy of superior bodily strength, but who does not possess these qualities in the same degree, whatever weapon he may employ.

'Such was the sword of the ancient Romans; and the proof of this being the queen of arms is, that with this sword they subdued the Macedonians, armed with pikes, notwithstanding their high courage, and the masterly skill with which they employed their favourite weapon.

'But, when once men had discovered a substance, which, being inflamed, disclosed a fluid whose elasticity could propel the heaviest bodies, with a force and velocity beyond conception; and which no former machine could approach: when the instruments, by which the activity

of that substance was displayed, were so improved, as to be capable of repeating the discharge with a rapidity unknown in the antient machines of projection, than projectile arms came to be considered as infinitely superior to any known hand-weapons.

'Armies could thenceforward seldom come to close engagement in the field. Before either one or other could pass over the space between their lines, death had already swept away so many of the combatants, that the survivors had but little inclination, or even power, to stand a regular and close attack.

'The whole offensive arms came then to be founded on the application of that inflammable substance, and the sword was no more than an idle ornament for the soldier. Even when his fire-arm was fitted up with an additional pointed weapon (the bayonet), so as in some measure to combine both uses, it was occasioned chiefly by a predilection for former usages, as well as to defend the soldier against the sudden and impetuous incursions of cavalry.

'Not only offensive arms underwent a material change, in consequence of the use of gunpowder, but also those for defence fell gradually into disuse: for, when projectile arms were become so perfect as to form the basis of the whole art of war, and to render hand arms almost useless; above all, when it was discovered, that it was impossible to contrive any defensive armour light enough to be worn by the soldiers, and, at the same time, strong enough to resist a musket-bullet, not to speak of cannon-balls, then all sorts of armour for defence were entirely thrown aside.

'Another article, in which great alterations have been necessarily made, in consequence of the use of gunpowder, in war, is the arrangement of troops in order of battle and on a march.

'The Macedonians and other Greek nations were frequently drawn up on a depth of sixteen, and even thirty-two men, placed one behind another, in files; because that deep and dense order, while it could be perfectly preserved, enabled them to bear down all opposition.

'The Romans, whose chief arm was the sword, rejected the dense order of the Greeks, as incompatible with the use of that weapon, and drew up in long full lines, of three men in depth, much the same as is practised in the present times in European armies; but then the men were arranged, not in files, one behind another, as is now done, but each man, in the succeeding rank, was placed diagonally, opposite to the interval, between the two men in the rank before him. Besides, the Roman soldier, in order to have the full play of his short cut-and-thrust sword and buckler, required a great deal more room, in all directions, than either the Macedonian or modern European soldier.

'The nature of the arms must always determine the manner of forming an army, and of arranging, in that order, the troops for battle.

'Notwithstanding the continual alterations and frequent improvements in the form and other circumstances of modern fire-arms, it yet seems impossible that the men who use them can be drawn up to advantage in any other way than in three lines.

'With two lines only there will be ground lost; and, with four, they can never all fire at the same time.' p. 210-216.

The difference between the direct and oblique order of battle is well explained, and the advantages of the latter pointed out, in the following passage, which, to those readers who are not professedly military, will probably convey some new information.

'All arrangements of troops, in line of battle, are either *direct*, that is to say parallel, or nearly so, to the front of the enemy's line; or *oblique*, that is, inclined to his front; so that if the two lines were to meet, at either extremity, they would form an angle, more or less acute.

'1st, The direct order of battle is the most natural and obvious, the most simple in its disposition and operations, and the most antient. In proportion, however, as the art of tactics was improved, many important defects were discovered in the direct order: but the principal reason why it is seldom employed seems to be the difficulty of meeting with, in a campaign, a plain so level and so extensive, as to allow two considerable armies to be drawn up, in opposite lines, the one parallel to the other, and to manœuvre, close, and engage, along their whole front, at the same time.

'Direct or parallel lines of battle must, besides, be very disadvantageous for any army, unless the front be but of small extent, and that the commander have a sufficient number of troops, in reserve, to reinforce such parts of his line as the enemy appear to break through.

'The oblique order of battle comprehends every species of disposition of troops, by which they can, at pleasure, be made to act against one or more points of the enemy's lines, whilst the remaining parts of it are kept in check: such troops, as are not engaged in these attacks, being held back, and beyond the reach of the enemy; by which operation the attacking army seems, in a general sense, to be obliquely inclined, by one or more angles, to that of the enemy.

'This oblique order is the most scientific, the most artful, and the most perfect of all. "It is this," says the chevalier de Folard, "against which a general, however able he may be, can form no opposition, when it is suddenly presented by the enemy: for, to be able to oppose it with due effect, it would be necessary to execute such manœuvres as cannot possibly be performed in the moment of action, as they require much time and previous arrangement. It might, for instance, be requisite to transport the whole left of an army to the right, or the whole right to the left."

'The parts of a line, with which the partial attack or attacks are to be made, are reinforced beyond the ordinary strength of the line, and the other parts, not engaged, are weakened in proportion as they are removed from the enemy.

'The oblique order is the genuine resource of a weak army. Its principal advantage consists in giving a commander the choice of the point of attack, and in rendering, for some time at least, the enemy's superiority in numbers of no use to them.

'An army, which is forced to engage another much more numerous, ought, above all, to endeavour to outfront it on one of the wings and to be strong on every point where the enemy may make an attack. By gaining these two grand advantages, and by keeping back the other parts of the line from action, a sort of equality, in effective strength, will be established between the two armies, the greater portion of the largest being thus rendered of no use in the battle.

'Frederick II. or the Great, of Prussia, has, of all the moderns, best studied the principles and properties of the oblique order. In his grand encampments and reviews, in time of peace, he shewed the mechanism of this order to his generals: and it was by it that he opened the way to his numerous victories. The Prussian tactics form an æra in military history.

'The oblique order may be employed against the right, the left, or the centre of the enemy's line, or against any of the intermediate points; but it is generally directed against one of the wings.

'The great art of arranging this order, is to mask and conceal the design from the enemy, who being equally apprehensive of an attack on every point, cannot weaken one in order to strengthen any other.

'The way to make an oblique attack miscarry, is to adopt an order contrary to that of the enemy, and to have always a considerable *corps de reserve*, of horse and foot, ready to reinforce the point attacked.

'It is often of great advantage to employ the oblique order against an enemy, who has taken, what he considers to be a good position, and there waits for the attack. In such a case he has no fears of being surprised, and from that very confidence is frequently defeated.

'However inferior a general may be, he never can be utterly defeated, if he act on the oblique order: for, as he does not engage the whole front of the enemy, nor even brings into action but a part of his own line, he never can suffer, excepting merely in the points of contact.

'It follows from all this, that a general, who is obliged to engage an enemy superior to himself in numbers, or in the quality of the troops, ought to take such a position as that the enemy cannot attack his whole front at one time. By such a position, he will be saved from a total defeat; but, on the other hand, he will be prevented from employing his talents, or taking advantage of circumstances, to ruin the enemy, unless this last destroy his own army, by repeated and unsuccessful assaults on such parts as are within his reach.' p. 319-323.

The nature of the oblique order is farther illustrated by the example of the battle of Rocroy, fought between the French and Spaniards in 1643; the former being under the command of the great Condé; to the interesting and distinct account of which celebrated engagement we refer the reader, (p. 325.)

The most remarkable instance of the oblique order, which the history of antient warfare furnishes, is the battle of Arbela, where Alexander the Great obtained so signal a victory over Darius. This great and complicated action, which was cele-

brated in the military schools of Greece, as a model of skill and talent, has had the good fortune to be described by Arrian with all the precision and distinctness that could be expected from an excellent writer and an experienced soldier. The narrative of Arrian has been commented on by Guischardt in his Military Memoirs, where, as Dr. Thomson observes, are to be found all that the scholar, the antiquary and the soldier can desire to be informed of.

Concerning those generals who, in modern times, have improved the art of war, Dr. Thomson has given the following remarks chiefly, as he says, from Mauvillon.

In the war which the Spaniards waged in the Low-Countries against the Flemish and Dutch,

—'the duke of Alba, the prince of Parma, the marquis of Spinola, and other celebrated commanders, on the part of Spain, taught, or reduced to the necessity of learning the art of war, the great princes of the house of Orange, in the same manner as the Swedes afterwards did the Russians.

'Maurice prince of Orange, was a man of deep learning and research, as well as of genius. He studied the art of war in the writings of the Greeks and Romans.

'Maurice may be considered as the father or reviver of modern tactics. From his school an acquaintance with the oblique order of battle was gained by Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, who carried it into execution at the famous battle of Lutzen.

'Turenne, in the early part of his life, served under Maurice, his maternal uncle, against the Spaniards in the Low Countries; and afterwards, by his prudence, conduct, and courage, as well as by his public spirit and disinterestedness, during the civil and foreign broils which brought France to the point of ruin, merited and obtained the highest fame. He was singularly judicious in the choice of positions, and in castrometation.

'But his eminent success was not more owing to any of his great qualities than to a deep insight into human nature, and a natural mildness and suavity of manners, by which he was at once enabled to discover the sentiments and emotions of men, and disposed, by a natural and most engaging sympathy, to gratify or to sooth them: while he commanded universal esteem, he gained also every heart.

'The great Marlborough, who, in many respects, greatly resembled Turenne, commenced, like him, his military career in the service of a foreign power.

'Marlborough fell in unfortunate times. Political dissensions were then carried on with such violence, and to such heights, that it was impossible his conduct could escape severe censure, from one or other of the parties by which England was then convulsed and alternately governed; and he was too closely connected with both parties, to be able long to keep on good terms with either of them. Hence his conduct,

both public, and private, military and political, has been so variously represented by writers in opposite interests.

'It is beyond all dispute that no modern general ever obtained greater victories in the field; yet his conduct has been much less praised than his good fortune.

'His wonderful success at Blenheim and at Ramillies has been attributed to the injudicious disposition of the enemy. But, if the enemy committed errors, Marlborough's genius instantly suggested the best way to take advantage of them.

'This reasoning of his enemies, however, will not hold, in the battle of Malplaquet. There Villars, one of the ablest officers that France ever possessed, had taken a strong position, and had made it still so strong by art, as if nature had completely neglected it.

'This post Marlborough attacked, and, after a dreadful conflict and carnage, carried: the fall of Mons and the close of the campaign were the reward of his success.

'His predicting his success at the celebrated battle of Oudenarde, at a moment when those about his person had scarcely observed the action to be begun, is a wonderful proof how much he possessed a knowledge of men, as well as of war. Upon the whole, an uninterrupted course of success, through many years, can never be with any justice attributed to chance or fortune.

'So entirely did Marlborough possess the confidence of his men, that even when it seemed next to impossible that they should be extricated from difficulties, they were accustomed to make themselves easy, saying, "Well, it is no matter to us, *Corporal John*, (for so the soldiers called him), will find some way to bring us off, and do for the enemy!"

'But neither Turenne, nor his great antagonist Montecuculi, nor Marlborough himself, can be considered as inventors in the Art of War. No inventor appeared from the time of Gustavus Adolphus, the father of the present grand basis of military operations, a triangle resting on a chain of magazines for a basis, till that of the great king of Prussia.' p. 394-400.

After Gustavus as an inventor in the modern art of war, Dr. Thomson places Frederick, the real inventor, he says, of light or flying artillery, but whose inventive genius in the military art chiefly distinguished itself by his improvement of the oblique or *angular* order, the principles of which he studied profoundly, and illustrated the efficacy of its operation in no less than forty-two battles. Thus, as inventors in an art, which unfortunately so many always practise, we can only reckon three in modern times—Prince Maurice, Gustavus, and Frederick the Great. In antient times, when the same art was no less diligently cultivated, the original inventors were not much more numerous; we cannot perhaps reckon more than four—Xenophon, Epaminondas, Alexander, and Cæsar. Such at least seems to have

been the estimate of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose judgment is here of great authority.

We would particularly recommend to our readers the account Dr. Thomson has given of the battles of Frederick, in which he has had the assistance of Grimoard's excellent commentaries.

Among the moderns, Frederick is the hero whom an author of military memoirs will naturally delight to celebrate. Dr. Thomson views him as a philosopher, a soldier, and a king. He has given his character from Maupertuis, concluding with this striking and just remark:—Many a private man might make a great king; but, except Frederick, where is the king that would make a great private man? (p. 457.)

These Military Memoirs come down to the battle near Alexandria in 1801; comprehending, of course, several of the actions in the American war, and in the last war with France. In those more recent actions which have not yet been sufficiently commented on, and criticised by military men, it cannot be expected that the information which Dr. Thomson's narrative affords should be quite so satisfactory as when he records events that have been for a longer time the subject of discussion. Yet here we have been frequently pleased with the distinctness of the descriptions, particularly of the actions in the American war, where, though there were no great battles nor brilliant victories, a species of warfare, new, in many respects, from the nature of the country, gave occasion to the display of considerable military talents on both sides. The events of the French war are great and singular beyond that of almost any other; but we are at present too near the scene of action to see them with distinctness, or judge of them with impartiality.

A defect, to which all books of the kind at present under review are obviously liable, is the want of unity; the different events described being connected as similiar, but not as cause and effect. This inconvenience, inseparable from the plan of the work, is much diminished by the interest which, during times like the present, all military details must necessarily create. It might be farther lessened, by taking care, every time the scene is shifted, or the actors changed, that some introductory account were prefixed, explaining the situation of the parties in the war, of the causes that operated on them, of the nature of the country in which they fought, and of the manner in which their communications were preserved. If the work is to undergo a second edition, we think more attention might be paid to these circumstances; as also, in the history of battles, to the exact description of the ground, whenever it is possible. On this head, however, we are well aware of the difficulty, and the

scantiness of the materials which, in most cases, history affords. We think, also, that the number of actions described might be considerably enlarged; and that, both in antiquity and the middle ages, Dr. Thomson might find many examples of war carried on, and battles fought with great display of military talents, of which the present volume gives no account. The history of Rome alone affords many such instances, which we shall be glad to see hereafter included in the Military Memoirs. But, whatever improvement these memoirs may admit of, we will venture to recommend them, in their present state, as likely to afford amusement and instruction to the reader. Though military history must ever suggest many painful reflections, yet there results from it this truth, so consoling to every friend of humanity, and so comfortable to every Briton at the present moment, that a nation of free men, united in the cause of liberty and independence, has never been subdued.

ART. XVIII. *Letters, from the year 1774 to the year 1796, of John Wilkes, Esq. addressed to his Daughter, the late Miss Wilkes: With a Collection of his Miscellaneous Poems. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Life of Mr. Wilkes.* In four Volumes. London. Longman & Co. &c. 1804.

The Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, with his Friends, printed from the Original Manuscripts, in which are introduced Memoirs of his Life, by John Almon. In five Volumes. London. Phillips. 1805.

WE are afraid that neither of those publications is well calculated to remove the unfavourable impression which some recent productions have created against such a minute exhibition of the life and letters of celebrated individuals. It is a kind of reading, indeed, which is tempting to indolence, by its approximation to the familiarity of ordinary conversation, and stimulating to vulgar curiosity, by the promise which it holds out, of revealing secrets and unmasking the imposing characters of public history. But the thing, we think, has really been overdone: and before they lay out any more of their money in the purchase of correspondences and memoirs, we earnestly exhort our readers to consider whether the secrets they contain are worth knowing, or whether a file of ancient newspapers might not afford them as amusing anecdotes and as authentic information.

Of the two performances now before us, it would not perhaps be very easy to say which is the most insignificant. If Mr. Almon's contains somewhat more of serious discussion, and of political recollections, it is only, we are afraid, because he has borrowed more freely from former publications than his anonymous competitor, who if he be uniformly trifling, is at least entirely original, and is also considerably less voluminous than the editor of the authentic manuscripts.

We have perused the anonymous volumes, we will confess, with some degree of amusement and very little feeling of fatigue. The letters are very much like what a man of the world might be expected to write to his daughter, if he had made it a practice to write to her two or three times every week. They are affectionate, easy, gossipping, and, above all, trifling;—filled with accounts of the people who called, and the dishes he tasted; the furniture he had ordered, the servants he engaged, the money he remitted, and the *beaume de vie* that he was under the necessity of swallowing. This domestic tittle-tattle is often delivered indeed in a very lively way; and little anecdotes and observations are interspersed, which give rather a pleasing impression of the writer's talents for conversation; but for facts or sentiments, or even for *bon-mots* or pleasantries that deserve to be remembered, we are afraid that the reader will look in vain. We make a few extracts almost at random, though, for the sake of our readers, we wish to select the most amusing.

'I sent Mrs. Molineux's letter, my dearest Polly, to Mrs. Martin as soon as I received it; but, alas! I heard the poor lady became a widow last Monday.

'Mrs. Macaulay returned to Dr. Wilson on Friday. I saw her yesterday very ill indeed, and raving against France, and every thing in that country. She even says their soups are detestable, as bad as Lacedemonian black broth, and their game insipid, all their meat bad, and their poultry execrable. Yet she says, that she dined at some of the best tables, and was infinitely caressed. She saw Dr. Franklin, but refused his invitation to dinner, for fear of being confined on her return in consequence of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. "Lord Jesus Christ, Mr. Wilkes, you know I am very fond of partridges; I saw them often served up, but could not eat them, I found them so hard and ill-flavoured." I staid with her near an hour, in which time I believe she exclaimed twenty times, "Lord Jesus Christ!" She was painted up to the eyes, and looks quite ghastly and ghostly. She has sent away her English woman, and has only a French Valet de chambre and friseur, at which the reverend Doctor is indignant and with whom the English servants already quarrel. I hope this will not prove ominous of a more general quarrel between the two nations.

'Linguet's last number is foolish. As soon as I return I shall call

on Mrs. Smith, and thank her for the pretty present of the muff to you. How infinitely amiable is old age when unattended with frowardness, and accompanied with all the goodness of heart and benevolence which distinguish her!

'I shall certainly return the next week, and I will fix the day by Tuesday's or Wednesday's post.

'Did my dear girl receive the fish, and was it very fine?

'The party yesterday to Governor Thickness's did not take place, on account of his illness; so I breakfasted and dined *en famille* with the Breretons.

'Here is a tall Welsh Mrs. P—s, beautiful beyond description; but in pity to us she will dance and talk, and thus pours balm into the wounds she gives.

'Good morrow, my dearest Polly.' Vol. II. p. 61—64.

The following note from Godstone, in 1776, may serve as a short specimen of the general gaiety of his style:

'Arrived here in his way to Brighthelmstone, the famous Mr. Wilkes, with a French valet de chambre, both as hungry as Highlanders, but finding rather more to eat than any Highlander, who had not been in the south. Saw scarcely ten persons on the road, and suspects men, women, and children have all emigrated to America. Is determined to eat a little forbidden fruit for supper, to drink the health of a most amiable young lady in Prince's Court, and to retire to Bedfordshire before ten; to rise to-morrow with the lark, and to hold converse with old ocean before evening. Such are the harmless projects of this son of ambition and faction.' Vol. II. p. 12.

The next is from the Isle of Wight in 1789.

'Yesterday I was happy, my dearest Polly, by your favour of last Sunday, and I read with much satisfaction the account of your dear health, and the improvement of your voice, even in the late cold and tempestuous month of May.

'We are impatient for the descending showers to call forth all nature's sweets, and waken all her flowers, for the earth is as thirsty as Boswell, and as cracked in many places, as he certainly is in one. His book, however, is that of an entertaining madman. Poor Johnson! Does a friend come and add to the gross character of such a man, the unknown trait of disgusting gluttony? I shall bring his two quartos back with me, and will point out numberless mistakes; but there are many excellent things in them. I suspect not unfrequently a mistake in the *Dramatis Personæ*. He has put down to *Boswell* what was undoubtedly said by *Johnson*, what the latter did, and the former could not, say. The motto to his book should have been the two lines of Pope,

"Who tells whate'er you think, whate'er you say,
And if he lies not, must at least betray."

'I am much pleased that your bed, book-case, and wardrobe, are finished to your mind, and I trust that the workman will give you as

much satisfaction in every thing else respecting the Grosvenor Square house. It will be a high gratification to me to give you a complete town residence. One of the most desirable things in this country, which affords the most frequent enjoyment, is a convenient and elegant house where you generally reside.

'I hope your Sunday with Madame de la Fite and Miss de Luc was not *triste comme une dimanche Anglicane*, but as cheerful as a May-day in a more propitious season.

'I thank you for another lamprey. By a note in the basket, we are not to expect any more this year, the season being over.' Vol. IV. p. 5—8.

The next we think is silly: but as the editor has specified it as playful and lively, we think it but justice to insert it.

'Polly, dear, sweet Polly, I have got a new coat, and it is all blue, and it has a fine gold edging, and I have a fine silk waistcoat, and it is all ribbed, and is blue, and has likewise a gold edging, and I have small-clothes all blue, and fine mother-of-pearl buttons, in every one of which you might see your pretty face. Now I intend to go to Ranelagh, with you, in this same fine waistcoat and coat, but then you must have a new gown, or all the fine folks will jeer me; therefore, as I am preparing for my return, you must call at Mr. Redhead's, and have a fine new gown made immediately, and then I will go with you the first day you choose.

'I thank you for your letter of Thursday. Pray return the fair widow, not my *compliment*, but my *love*, *tender love*.

'To-day I dine with Mrs. Macaulay and the Doctor. To-morrow, being Sunday, I travel to Bristol, to have the benefit of your prayers, but return in the evening.

'Lord Irnham came here last night, and breakfasted here this morning with Mr. Mrs. and sweet Juliet Brereton, and a Miss Newman, young, ugly, and amiable.' Vol. II. p. 91, 92.

There are several touches of profanity in these letters, that would have been unbecoming any where, but are particularly offensive when considered as having been addressed by a father to his daughter. There is an expression in Vol. II. p. 148, which is absolutely indecent. The following, we hope, was only intended for free and unmeaning pleasantry:

'Shall I, my dearest Polly, give you an account of yesterday's Christmas dinner? It is so like an alderman to talk the day after of what he had yesterday: yet perhaps, being a female, you may be curious, and therefore I give it. The paschal lamb, with the fry—a *virgin* pullet, stuffed with *pigeon*'s eggs—St. Peter's cock, a-la-cocky decky—a large cod's head from the miraculous draught—fricassee of *innocents*—cloven tongues avec de la sauce au St. Esprit—Baptist's head in a charger—calves' heads à-la-Golgotha—des saucisses males à-la-Madelaine. The dessert consisted of *bonchretien* pears—and the wine was *lachryma Christi* (the famous wine near Naples, called the *tears of Christ*.)

An Irishman said, on tasting it, he wished that Christ had wept in Ireland.) Was not this a very suitable dinner for the anniversary which was celebrated?

'The sweet July Brereton I saw and saluted yesterday. I hope so beauteous a flower will not wither on the stalk from whence it grew, and die uncropped.

'I mean this afternoon to revisit the good old Doctor at Alfred House, and shall not fail, as he kindly desires, to pay him almost daily visits, while I continue at Bath. By all accounts from the faculty he cannot long survive.' p. 180—1.

We add only one other extract from Bath.

'Constancy! thy name is Wilkes: and constancy to Huncamunca is a prodigy, a miracle of the latter ages, and yet literally true. I am here again, in Miss Temple's lodgings, in Gallway's Buildings, and my fair landlady has been just dropping me such a broad-wheel curtesey, that I trembled for the floor, and the floor trembled likewise.

'I wrote to you last night from Marlborough, and, notwithstanding my violent exertions, I rose this morning at six, and was able to attack a large roll with success, on the strength of which I proceeded to this capital of health and folly.

'I find Bath very thin for the spring season, and I believe the embodying of the militia in so many counties will deprive the harpies here of a good deal of their prey. I have no news yet of the *amiable couple* at ——— House, but my next letter will give you a little history of all your acquaintance here.

'I was much surprised to find the spring more advanced every where in the country than in your park, and the immediate environs of London. The sweet infants of the spring are here raising their beauteous heads above the dull earth, and the groves charm already with the music of the feathered choristers, which are still more harmonious than the feathered females in the upper or lower rooms.

'Poor Doctor M——! The mind is the same, but its case is dreadfully shattered. Yet he was in the rooms last night. Methinks a total retirement under such circumstances would more gracefully close the scene. The chapter of *Strulbrugs*, in Swift, is the best cure I know of the foolish wish of too long life. Dr. W——, too, is half gone, and it would scarcely be a sin to bury him as he is. I paid my respects to him this morning, and found him trembling at once with eagerness and age. Mrs. M—— was not at home, but I have since had a card in print from her:—"Mrs. M's. compliments to Mr. W. Mrs. M. will be at home every Thursday to tea and cards." This is all the news I have of Bath.—Good morrow.' p. 80—4.

These extracts may serve as a specimen of the letters which certainly form the most interesting part of this publication. The first of the four volumes, however, is filled with a life written with laudable moderation and candour, but in a very *juvenile* taste;

and with some poems of Mr. Wilkes, which are bad beyond the common badness of occasional verses.

We really do not see what use there was for a life of John Wilkes. All his public history is detailed with sufficient accuracy and sufficient amplitude in the chronicles and journals of the times; and of his private concerns and adventures, we are inclined to think that both this and the succeeding generations would have been well contented to be ignorant. Mr. Almon indeed assures us, that 'his name is placed on a level with those of Hampden and of Sydney;' and the anonymous biographer, though he has afterwards the prudence to lower his tone a little, sets off with a sort of parallel between him and Lord Bacon. Nothing, it appears to us, can possibly be more ludicrous than those flourishes of rhetoric or enthusiasm. Mr. Wilkes undoubtedly came into public life as an adventurer; and there seems little reason to doubt that his primary object was to promote his own interest, and, for that purpose, to force himself into notoriety. He was gifted by nature with an unusual share of firmness and intrepidity, and had cultivated a talent for sarcasm and popular invective, which rendered his opposition very formidable to those who were less daring or less expert. But in the whole course of his public career there seems to have been nothing generous, disinterested, or noble; nothing which indicated either a disposition or an understanding which qualified him to act the part of a statesman, or to administer the affairs of a great nation. With no more than a moderate knowledge of English history, and no knowledge at all, as it appears to us, of those more profound principles which influence the prosperity of nations, he dogmatised with unlimited confidence upon the genius of the British constitution, and upon all those delicate questions of legislative supremacy and popular controul, of which he was incapable of feeling the difficulty.

All his quarrels were personal, and the spirit with which he conducted them was acrimonious and irritating in a very unusual degree. He was the first English gentleman, we believe, since the revolution, who appealed from the senate to the mob, and endeavouring to force his way to distinction and power by the help of popular indignation, while he was entirely exempt from that sympathy and veneration for the lower orders of society with which some succeeding patriots seem to have been sincerely inspired. He may be said to have introduced into party division not only the bitterness of personal animosity, but the scurrility of vulgar disputation, and to have set the example of a mode of contention by which conciliation would have become impracticable, and political differences must have been exasperated into inexpi-

able hostility. All that was done, in his case, for the protection of private liberty, might have been effected more easily by a milder and more dignified assertor; and while we conceive the nation to have been indebted chiefly to Lord Chief Justice Pratt, for having anticipated, by a few years, the suppression of general warrants, (an irregularity too monstrous to have had a long endurance), it seems to have owed little to Mr. Wilkes, but the example of vulgarising parliamentary dissensions, and of contending with the officers of government as if they had been ordinary ruffians, who were seeking to deprive him of his property or his life. We certainly cannot discern any extraordinary merit in stating so obvious an objection, and are sure that it might have been made effectual with less clamour and fury. A prisoner accused of offences against the government will naturally use every plea to obtain his liberation; and when his plea is ultimately sustained, we feel no admiration for any thing but the beneficent vigour of the law, and the even-handed justice of the magistrate by whom it is administered. In the course of this contest, it cannot be denied, that he both received and gave no ordinary provocation, and that he conducted himself throughout with a degree of intrepidity, consistency and spirit, that would have been heroic in a higher cause, and highly exemplary in that which he had to maintain, if they had not been tainted with some mixture of ferocity and intemperate passion. The account which he gives of his interview with the Secretaries of State after his first apprehension, is republished by Mr. Almon from the second letter to the Duke of Grafton, and affords, so striking a picture of the man, that though the passage is rather long we are tempted to lay it before our readers.

"I was conducted into a great apartment fronting the park, where lord Halifax and lord Egremont, the two secretaries of state, were sitting at a table covered with papers, pens and ink. The under-secretaries stood near their lordships. Lord Egremont received me with a supercilious, insolent air; lord Halifax, with great politeness. I was desired to take the chair near their lordships; which I did. Lord Halifax then began—'that he was really concerned that he had been necessitated to proceed in that manner against me; that it was exceedingly to be regretted that a gentleman of my rank and abilities could engage against his king, and his majesty's government.' I replied, 'that his lordship could not be more mistaken, for the king had not a subject more zealously attached to his person and government than myself,' &c. Lord Halifax answered, 'that nothing had been done but by the advice of the best lawyers, and that it was now his duty to examine me.' He had in his hand a long list of questions, regularly numbered. He began, 'Mr. Wilkes, do you know Mr. Kearsley? When did you see

him?' &c. &c. I replied, 'that I suspected there was a vain hope my answer would tend towards what his Lordship wished to know: that he seemed to be lost in a dark and intricate path, and really wanted much light to guide him through it; but that I could assure his lordship not a single ray should come from me.' Lord Halifax returned to the charge. 'Mr. Wilkes, do you know Mr. Kearsley,' &c. &c. I said, 'that this was a curiosity on his lordship's part, which, however laudable in the secretary, I did not find myself disposed to gratify; and that, at the end of my examination, all the quires of paper on their lordships' table should be as milk-white as at the beginning.' Lord Halifax then desired to remind me of my being their prisoner, and of their right to examine me. I answered, 'that I should imagine their lordships' time was too precious to be trifled away in that manner; that they might have seen before, I would never say one word they desired to know;' and I added, 'indeed, my lords, I am not made of such slight, flimsy stuff:' then, turning to Lord Egremont, I said, 'Could you employ tortures, I would never utter a word unbecoming my honour, or affecting the sacred confidence of my friend. God has given me firmness and fidelity. You trifle away your time most egregiously, my lords.' Lord Halifax then asked me, 'if I chose to be a prisoner in my own house, at the Tower, or in Newgate; for he was disposed to oblige me.' I gave his lordship my thanks: but I desired to remark, 'that I never received an obligation but from a friend: that I demanded justice, and my immediate liberty, as an Englishman who had not offended the laws of his country; that as to the rest, it was beneath my attention; the odious idea of restraint was the same odious idea every where: that I would go where I pleased; and, if I was restrained by a superior force, I must yield to the violence, but would never give colour to it by a shameful compromise.' Lord Halifax then told me, 'that I should be sent to the Tower, where I should be treated in a manner suitable to my rank; and that he hoped the messengers had behaved well to me.' I acknowledged that they had behaved with humanity, and even civility to me, notwithstanding the ruffian orders given them by his lordship's colleague. I then again turned to lord Egremon, and said, 'Your lordship's verbal orders were, to drag me out of my bed at midnight. The first man who had entered my bedchamber by force, I should have laid dead on the spot. Probably I should have fallen in the skirmish with the others. I thank God, not your lordship, that such a scene of blood has been avoided. Your lordship is very ready to issue orders, which you have neither the courage to sign, nor, I believe, to justify.' No reply was made to this; and the conversation dropped. Lord Halifax retired into another apartment. Lord Egremont continued sullen and silent, about a quarter of an hour. I then made a few remarks on some capital pictures which were in the room, and his Lordship left me alone.

'I was afterwards conducted into another apartment. I found there several of my friends, in argument with the most infamous of all

the tools of that administration, Mr. Philip Carteret Webb. He confirmed to me that I was to be carried to the Tower, and wished to know if I had any favours to ask. I replied 'that I was used to confer, not to receive, favours: that all I would say to him was, if my valet-de-chambre was allowed to attend me in the Tower, I should be shaved and have a clean shirt; if he was not, I should have a long beard and dirty linen,' Mr. Webb said, 'that orders would be given for his admission at the Tower.' I complained of the shameful evasion of the habeas-corpus, in sending me to the Tower, though the orders of the chief-justice Pratt were known. Mr. Webb made no reply to this. He came to visit me at the Tower in the beginning of my imprisonment, when I had not the permission to see any friend. I desired him almost at his first entrance to take his leave; for, if I was not allowed to see those whom I loved, I would not see those whom I despised.' p. 201—209.

Such scenes as this show great firmness and ability; but the ability of a dexterous partizan, rather than that of a genuine patriot, or an able statesman. They indicate a man to be avoided, and perhaps to be pacified, but not a man to be trusted or employed; one who may be feared as an enemy, but not wished for as a friend: a formidable tool perhaps of a desperate faction, but scarcely fit for an instrument of regular government, or even of systematic opposition. Accordingly, Mr. Wilkes, though more notorious than any man in England, and enjoying a reputation for talents at least equal to his deservings, was never admitted into any of her great constitutional parties, nor ever received into any political intimacy or confidence by either of the adverse bands of statesmen who have succesively influenced the councils of this country. His anonymous biographer, in contrasting his history with that of an illustrious contemporary, makes the following judicious observation.

'Whilst Mr. Burke (a political adventurer also) attached to the mild virtues of the Rockingham connexion, increased in weight, as he increased in years, and on his deathbed found himself surrounded chiefly by those who, as they had advanced in years, had also advanced in reputation and popular esteem; Mr. Wilkes in old age stood single and alone; politically triumphant indeed, but with no *personal* sharers of his triumph, and with little to elevate his mind, but the recollection of a fame, hourly on the decline, as new occurrences occupied and diverted the attention of the public.' Vol. I. p. 16.

Having this general impression as to Mr. Wilkes's public character, and being perfectly indifferent as to the *minutiæ* of his private history, Mr. Almon must excuse us, if we say that we followed the ample and elaborate detail which he has given of all the transactions of his life, with very little interest, and very great

fatigue. The work is divided into chapters, which are titled in capital letters, with such promising notices as the following: 'Of the Mead family;'—'of John Wilkes, Esq. during his minority;'—'of the separation of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkes;'—'Mr. Wilkes elected alderman of the Ward of Farrington without;'—'Mr. Wilkes's journey to Bath,' (to get rid of a fever);—'Mr. Wilkes's tour to the coast,' &c. &c. &c. The greater part of the chapters are as dull as the titles might give reason to expect; and a very large proportion of the letters are excessively trifling and insignificant. What would our readers say, for instance, to a series of epistles from Miss Wilkes in this style and pattern?

'DEAR PAPA, *Bury, Saturday Morning.*

'I take the liberty of informing you of my arrival here; as I remember the letters from Garboldisham are received only the third day, and I cannot learn here when the post sets out from thence. I will have the pleasure of writing to you as soon as possible. I lay at Sudbury, where I arrived a little after six. I have had a very pleasant journey, without the least accident. *Bon jour, mon cher papa.*' Vol IV. p. 120.

Or this, when the fair writer is some years older—

'I received, dear papa, your kind favour of Saturday, in company with your old friend Miss Goddard; who accepted of a *tête-à-tête* dinner with me yesterday. We had the Bath mutton you was so good as to send me. It was delicious; and we drank the health of the amiable donor. We had likewise the Bath cheese; which we both liked extremely.

'At last you see that Mr. Luttrell is married. I beg you will ask Lord Irnham where he has taken a house; as I wish to be among the first that wait upon the bride.

'Mr. Serjeant Adair called yesterday, to know if you was returned; and Mr. Mulliner sent this morning.

'My Grandmother is pretty well, and desires her love.' Vol. IV. p. 245, 246.

If they wish to see what sort of compositions Mr. Almon has recorded from more celebrated authors, they may read a series, of complimentary acknowledgments in the fourth volume, of which the following stands first.

'Mr. Pitt presents his compliments to Mr. Wilkes, and is extremely obliged to him for the edition of Catullus, which Mr. Wilkes has done him the honour to send this morning.' Vol. IV. p. 221.

Or they may peruse seven letters about dinners from Mr. Boswell, in this taste.

'I should set out for Scotland to-morrow; but I will stay on purpose to have a dinner with Lord Mountstuart and you. Let me know then, by a note, this night if possible, or to-morrow morning before ten, if that party can hold on Thursday, provided I can fix the third man. Send the note to me, at Lord Mountstuart's, Hill-street,

Berkeley Square. I think our tavern should be the Crown and Anchor. Yours, &c.' Vol. IV. p. 311.

If they should like the following specimen of Mr. Wilkes's tour through Italy in 1765, we can assure them that upwards of fifty pages of the same composition await them in the second volume.

'I left Florence February 9, at three in the afternoon; and got to San Cassiano, one post, a little after six. The road was very rough, and much up hill—February 10, I left San Cassiano at seven; arrived at Tavernelle, one post, at twelve; came to Poggibonzi, one post, at three; to Castiglioncello, one post, at five; and reached Sienna a little before seven; the road tolerably good, and the views on each side very picturesque; a sweet variety of hills and valleys, and the whole face of the country smiling. The earth is almost every where covered with corn, and olive-trees.—February 11, I left Sienna, at twelve, and arrived at Monterone, one post, at two; reached Buonconvento, one post, at five; and arrived at Torrenieri, one post, at seven. The road much up and down hill, but not dangerous.—February 12, I left Torrenieri at seven; came to La Scala, one post, at nine; to Ricorsi, one post, at twelve; to Radicofani, one post, at three; to Ponte Centino, one post and three quarters, at five; to Acquapendente, one post, at a little after seven. The post to Radicofani is very bad, the hills very steep and rough: the post to Acquapendente is still worse, and the hill a little dangerous; it is indeed almost perpendicular.—February 13, I left Acquapendente at eight; came to S. Lorenzo, three quarters of a post, at ten; proceeded to Bolsena, one post and three-quarters; arrived there at five; changed horses about half-way; reached Viterbo at half an hour after six. Between Bolsena and Montefiascone you have a beautiful view of the lake of Bolsena, about thirty miles in circumference, with two islands in it; all the way on the right. The road is very rough, and over mountains.—Februry 14, I left Viterbo at eight; ascended the very high mountain of that name to Ronciglione, three-quarters of a post; arrived there at eleven: proceeded to Monte Rosi, one post, the whole way almost descending the mountain of Viterbo; got there by one: proceeded to Baccano, one post; came there at three: to Alla Storta, one post, at six; and to Rome, one post, at eight. The road is either very rough, or deep, the whole way. The postilions drove directly to the Dogana; where the trunks were taken off, and left till the next morning.' Vol. II. p. 132-134.

Finally, if any one should have a curiosity to know how Mr. Wilkes ordered a book-case to be painted like mahogany, how he got a suit of scarlet trimmed with gold, and what he paid for bird cages, caricature prints, and china handles to his knives and forks, we have great pleasure in referring him to any part of the voluminous correspondence between him and his daughter, which is interspersed in various lots and subdivisions through the latter volume of this publication.

As Mr. Almon's anxiety for the immortality of his friend's reputation has led him not only to publish all these important memorials of his private occupations, but also to present his readers with faithful copies of a great variety of papers that were previously in possession of the public, we cannot help regretting that he did not extend his labours so far as to give us a complete edition of all his different publications. In what he has actually accomplished, he is plainly chargeable either with culpable omission, or with very foolish redundancy. If his work is not to contain a complete edition of Mr. Wilkes's performances, why is one half of it occupied with the republication of pieces with which all the world has long ago been familiar? And if it was meant to embody in these volumes all that was expected to carry down the name of the author to posterity, for what reason are the best of his writings omitted in them? What inducement had Mr. Almon to reprint the letters to the Duke of Grafton and to the electors of Aylesbury, the speech on Mr. Hasting's impeachment, the introduction to the History of England, and the letter on his public conduct, together with his preface to Mortimer, his remarks on Sir John Cust's speech, and all the writs, warrants, charges, and sentences connected with his apprehension and trial, at the same time that he has left out the North Briton, the speeches in Parliament, and the observations on the Spanish war, together with many other pieces altogether as worthy of preservation as those which will fall to the lot of the fortunate purchasers of these volumes? For our own part, we are very well disposed to forgive him for these little omissions, and could have extended our charity to a still greater delinquency: but we do not see how he can ever forgive himself, or expect to be pardoned by those who like to have their pamphlets bound up in an uniform and handsome manner.

There are scattered through these volumes some minute pieces of new information as to the conduct and the motives of ministers in the different measures which were adopted with regard to Mr. Wilkes; but though there may still be some persons who will peruse with avidity every thing that bears the form of ministerial anecdote, we will confess that the interest of such investigations is with us long ago gone by. We care very little whether it was determined in the cabinet to expel Mr. Wilkes before he presented his petition or after; whether the Duke of Grafton kept faith with him or not; or whether his quarrels with Lord Temple and Mr. Horne Tooke did or did not arise entirely from his own misconduct. This stale collection of petty politics indeed appears to us to be a worse kind of trifling than the letters upon his domestic arrangements, his ailments, and visitations: and the only

part of the work we have perused with any degree of amusement, is that which contains his private letters to Mr. Cotes and his daughter. The former give a very lively and undisguised picture of his feelings during the period of his persecution and popularity; and afford some curious glimpses of constitutional gaiety and Epicurean carelessness, in a mind agitated by a fierce ambition, a distempered vanity, and a rancorous thirst for revenge. The latter are indulgent, cheerful, unconstrained, and every way amiable. Though written in the tone of a man of the world, the morality which they inculcate is entirely unexceptionable, and show the author to have been susceptible, in private life, of better feelings and affections than could be guessed at from his public appearances. In these particulars, as well as in the insignificance of their details, they are exactly on a level with the prattling epistles which compose the other collection: and since it was thought worth while to print them at all, we are surprised that they were not separated from the story of his political adventures, and presented in another publication to a different set of readers.

*** The Reviewer of Mr. Mathias' *Componomenti Lirici* in our last Number, begs leave to observe, that the admirable sonnet to which he refers in p. 60, though quoted by Mr. Mathias from the works of *Gaetana Passarini*, is really the production of *Giovambatista Pastorini* of Genoa; and takes this opportunity of correcting this error of the learned editor of the *Componomenti*, which had formerly escaped his observation.

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